

DRAFT SOCIALIST CAUCUS STATEMENT

(BC)

Humanity is faced with the serious threats of survival not only of the economy or of society but of humanity itself. The threat of nuclear war is being fed by the capitalist drive to rescue its failing economic and social system. Furthermore, unemployment and inflation are rapidly unloading the burden of a failing capitalist system upon working people and the poorest and most vulnerable sections of the population. In the meantime, the tendency towards war and economic crisis increase and lead humanity to a most profound and imminent crisis unless an alternative system is provided.

That alternative rejects production for profit. Socialism projects peace and prosperity through cooperative ownership and control of the wealth. Planning and workers councils, not unlike the concept of workers' self-management proposed by the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland, would replace the anarchy of the market. Peaceful production and equitable distribution of society's wealth would replace self-enrichment at the expense of people's food and shelter and health. War production would have no place in a socialist democracy.

The Socialist Caucus is grouped around the idea that Canada's labor party, the NDP, has to commit itself to a policy of public ownership of the key economic sectors. We reject the concept of a mixed economy or the welfare state. The magnitude of the crisis demands a radical response which goes beyond patching a decaying system.

As a coalition of left wingers in the party we want to promote socialist politics and develop socialist positions on key questions as they appear. The Socialist Caucus declares itself for making the NDP into a socialist party which goes beyond liberal reforms. To that end, we advocate the following positions based on our common experience over the last few years of ideological struggle:

1. For a planned economy in which production is directed toward satisfying real human need rather than profit. For public ownership of the vital industries and financial institutions managed under a system of economic democracy -- workers' control.
2. For breaking Canada from the U.S. military network. For withdrawal of Canadian membership from NATO and NORAD and the Canada-U.S. Defence Production Sharing agreements. Against Canada's entry into any other imperialist alliance such as the OAS.



3. Support for feminist struggles and demands including economic issues like equal pay for work of equal value, parity representation of women in leading positions in the party, the right of women to choose abortion. For integrating the struggle for women's liberation in the context of the overall struggle for a socialist society.
4. Unequivocal support for labor's struggles. We oppose any concept of wage controls, anti-strike legislation, all anti-labor laws. For promoting solidarity with and socialism in the labor movement.
5. For activism which goes beyond just building an electoral machine. We believe in the necessity of extra-parliamentary action to link up socialism and our party with the real and ongoing struggles of working people and the oppressed.
6. For the right of the Quebecois nation to real self-determination. We recognize the oppressive state of humiliation that long dominated this nation. Therefore, we are in solidarity with their desire for national self-assertion up to and including separation.
7. For commitment to the struggle against the rapacious

destruction of the human environment -- land, sea, and air. We oppose the right of corporations and their governments to destroy the environment and the health of the people in order to protect profits. We especially support entrusting power to workers' and community health and safety committees to defend a clean and healthy environment.

8. For internal party democracy. For proportional representation of competing viewpoints in the party. For accountability of elected party members and party officials to the programs and principles adopted at convention. For an open and democratic structure for discussion of ideas and programs. Against witch-hunting of minority views.

The Socialist Caucus is run on democratic principles and seeks to include all New Democrats who agree with these principles.

For further information  
contact, in your area:



## A SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

*Only a program of fundamental social change – a Socialist Program, will inspire the support we need if we are to win political power in Canada. Such a program must call for:*

*1) The public ownership of the country's industry, beginning with the basic industries, under the control of the working people as the only meaningful solution to the problems created by the private ownership of automated industry.*

*2) Support for the struggles of the colonial peoples for political and economic independence, opposition to attempts to crush and contain these movements. Condemnation of the United States role as the leading force against the struggles of the colonial people.*

*3) A total commitment by the New Democratic Party to the working people and the Labor Movement, recognition of its position as Canada's Labor Party.*

*4) The establishment of genuine democracy within the NDP, with the encouragement of discussion of differing and conflicting views within the party.*

*5) Recognition of the struggle of the Quebec working people for political and economic equality and solidarity with their attempts to build a mass socialist working class party in Quebec.*

*6) A charter on Women's Rights, demanding the elimination of women's role as a captive consumer and source of cheap labor for industry.*

## FOR A SOCIALIST PROGRAM

To-day, four years after the founding convention, the New Democratic Party is faced with a crisis of opportunity. Working people are confronted with the spectre of unemployment through automation. The Labor movement is under legislative attack by the political representatives of the industrial corporations. The world, racked by the social upheavals of millions of people, demanding their fair share of the earth's wealth, lies constantly under the shadow of nuclear destruction.

Vast opportunities exist for our party. Present conditions make it possible to end the political apathy of the working people. Rally them to resist the current attacks on the labor movement. Destroy the illusions fostered by the parties of big business and channel the beginning revolt among youth towards political action against the drive towards nuclear war.

However, the party has not moved to meet these opportunities. It is stagnating and declining. The Saskatchewan party is defeated. National voting strength hovers at a minute 13%. Membership has not significantly grown. Constituency organizations are inactive and the programmatic distinction between the NDP and other parties has become increasingly blurred.

Blame cannot be placed on the 'ignorance' of the Canadian people or the inadequacies of this or that leader. We have declined because we have failed to provide answers to the problems which concern Canadian working people; inadequate housing, alienation from the job, speed ups, a long term answer to automation and the near stagnation of wages in a period of mushrooming profits. In general, we have failed to provide a solution to the problem of what to do with an outmoded and unjust economic system.

Instead of attacking the problem at its roots, the party

has provided a program of mild, hesitating reforms. Surely our defeats and decline forces us to agree that such a program neither solves the problems confronting the working people, nor inspires their support. What is needed is a program calling for fundamental social change; an end to a system where all power and wealth go to the owners of industry, democratic control of the economy by the working people with planned production, for use rather than profit. This means a change of systems, not reform of the present one. A Socialist System.

As the alternative to the liberal-reformist program which has led the party to defeats the SOCIALIST CAUCUS proposes the following program:

## THE AUTOMATION REVOLUTION

The technological progress of modern industrial society has brought mankind to an era of unprecedented abundance and growth. The revolution with all its potential and promise has evoked forecasts of a world without misery and material need, where man is at last freed from the drudgery of "earning a living" to develop human culture and science to unlimited heights. However, while these new changes in production are revolutionary they are simply the continuation of the rapid technological progress since the industrial revolution and, in this sense, not new but desirable and expected.

On the other hand, what is new are patterns of job displacement, increasing youth unemployment and recent struggles between workers and employers (like the Toronto Newspaper strike) over the use of automated equipment which have raised serious doubts about the capacity of capitalism to utilize automation for the benefit of the working people. In fact it is more and more obvious that the capitalist form of economic organization is inadequate and obsolete when faced with the new technology which it itself produced.



Automation is rapidly displacing human labor, forcing workers to subsist on insufficient government measures, like unemployment insurance. At best a displaced worker may find a poorer paying job which does not require his obsolete skills. This trend makes the present unequal distribution of economic wealth even more unequal. The working man, always dependent on the owners of industry for his family's income is now being placed in a more dependent and insecure position.

In a parallel development, automation is increasing the economic power of a tiny minority, who decide the economic fate of the majority. This class which is guaranteed a living REGARDLESS of technology or personal skills is today, with the introduction of automation, raking in an unprecedented portion of Canadian wealth.

In this way the present economic structure succeeds in turning the benefits, inherent in automation into their opposite. Automated industry, owned privately by a small powerful class can only be used to enhance that class's profits and power. Government measures which consistently aid the corporation owners in their change to automation at the expense of the working people, are a reflection of this grim reality.

Since the present system is obsolete in the face of the new technology the working people, the section of the population with the most to gain from automation must intervene to create a system which can use automation rationally and humanely.

The NDP, as the party of the working people must call for this change. It must boldly state that planning for the welfare of the population and planning for profits are mutually exclusive. Automation can only benefit the working people if planning for their welfare is the overriding consideration.

Industry in the hands of a tiny class which must continually increase profits to maintain its position cannot produce on the basis of what the majority needs. Meaningful economic planning therefore calls for public ownership of industry with the democratic participation of the workers . . . this is the solution for the 'problems' of automation, the prerequisite for a society of social and economic justice.

In addition the NDP must call for the immediate reduction of the work week without reduction in pay and the institution of a sliding scale of hours. We must explain that in spite of the vast increase in productivity, the work week has not decreased since the early '50s. A shorter work week would permit workers to enjoy the new free time promised by automation. Most important, it would spread the work over the available work force and relieve the immediate effects of the shrinking labor market. We must emphasize, however, that this is necessarily a stop-gap measure and not a solution to the problem.

As a party dedicated to social justice, the NDP must resist the pressures to adopt a program of partial inadequate measures . . . reforms which by themselves dangerously hide the fundamental questions. It must without hesitation stand for the basic reorganization of the eco-

nomy that the present level of technology requires and in so doing will stand with the only course of action which meets the needs of the working people.

## THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

International affairs today are characterized by the revolutions and massive protests of millions of people throughout the world demanding their share of the benefits offered by modern industrial society. In all these areas of social upheaval, the movements of the people are met with fierce resistance by the local dictator, junta or ruling class, in the name of freedom, democracy, anti-communism and free enterprise. However, it is clear that the local oppressors are not the real obstacle to social progress. Huge investments by British, Canadian, American and European corporations exist throughout the world, South Africa, Latin America, Asia, Spain, Portugal. These investments, maintain in power, at the expense of millions of poverty stricken people, the myriad of juntas, fascist regimes and sawdust dictators which serve as instruments of suppression, for the vital economic interests of Western capital. In reality then, the Salazars, Imberts, Francos, Verwoerds prove to be an integral part of the world capitalist system. The struggles of the colonial people are therefore struggles against the economic exploitation and political domination of world capitalism.

Nowhere is this important fact better illustrated than in the US military intervention in Cuba, the Congo, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In the name of freedom and democracy the United States, the most powerful country in the world has attempted to crush popular movements, since political and economic freedom for the colonial peoples means a shrinking of areas of investment and cheap labor for the world wide US corporations.

The NDP must take a stand on this fundamental conflict. It must support, as T.C. Douglas puts it "the revolution of the coloured races of the world demanding the right of self-determination", in Vietnam, Santo Domingo and the Congo. It must support the progress towards social and economic equality in countries like Cuba, Algeria, and China. It must oppose military alliances like NATO, NORAD, AND SEATO, which are used to suppress the popular struggles. Most important, we must militantly oppose Canada's "supine subservience" to the aggression of the U.S. government which every day brings the world closer to the nuclear abyss.

With the situation worsening every day, this convention is called upon to protest what T.C. Douglas has called "some new form of colonialism masquerading as an anti-communist crusade". The SOCIALIST CAUCUS urges this convention to march en masse to the US consulate to make public demonstration of our resolute opposition to the US invasion of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In this way, we will show that we are opposed to the minority of profiteers and generals who profit from war and exploitation. We will show that we are on the side of the Canadian people who dread nuclear war and want only to build a better world.



## THE NDP MUST TURN TOWARDS LABOR

The NDP with its roots in the trade union movement is the political arm of the most powerful and most numerous sector of the Canadian population the working people. It is the working people; the farmers and wage workers, who with their labor create the wealth of the country. It is they who suffer the most from the social and economic injustices of the present system. It is logical that they are the section of the population most receptive to a party with its roots in the labor movement and expect from it a program and actions which support the struggles of the working people.

Attempts to create 'sham' respectability by hiding the NDP's working class base, are self-defeating. A party with its roots in the working people must identify with them by developing policies and campaigns which appeal to them, if it is to become a victorious political force. It must support the struggles of the workers on the picket lines. Represent and struggle for labor unity. It must defend unions against compulsory arbitration, injunctions, police brutality; part of the arsenal in the current legislative attack against them. It must publish a national newspaper giving labor's point of view and choose a name which symbolizes the party's solidarity with the working people.

Through such actions the NDP can expose the relationship between the old parties and the owners of industry. It can demonstrate that these parties in reality represent the group of capitalists who control the economic lives of the working people. It can illustrate the solidarity of the party with the struggles and long term interests of the working people. In this way, in conjunction with a socialist program, the NDP can win the militant support of the working people and fulfill its responsibility to build a mass political party of labor in Canada. The NDP must be unafraid, as Donald MacDonald says, to be "swamped" by labor. Recognition by the party of this responsibility is the only road out of the present stagnation . . . the only road to victory.

## THE PARTY MUST PERMIT AND ENCOURAGE THE DISCUSSION OF DIFFERING AND CONFLICTING VIEWS

Unrestricted discussion of socialist views is the life blood of the party. Only on this basis can a correct program, one which meets the needs of working people, be forged. Since views within the labor movement are varied and conflicting, full expression of all these ideas must be permitted in the party. It is the duty of the party to encourage the circulation of these diverse ideas.

To say that some ideas are out of bounds is to say that others are unquestionably correct and that the persons adhering to the latter are infallible. Such a position can have grave consequences for the future of the NDP. For if the present reformist course is wrong, as the SOCIALIST CAUCUS states, then unless its viewpoint can be presented in an atmosphere devoid of restrictions and intimi-

dation, the present course of the party cannot be corrected and the party placed on the path to victory.

Expulsions, criticism of the youth and the general taboo on positions opposed to reformism and the views of the present leadership are symptoms of a serious curtailment of democratic discussion of socialist views within the party. This must change if the party is to progress. STEPS must be taken to make the party a functioning democratic organization. Educational and discussion activity must be encouraged in riding associations. Convention decisions in all cases must be binding on elected MPs. Expulsions of members for holding socialist views must stop. Trials must be conducted by elected bodies representative of riding associations with final appeal, to the federal convention. The accused must be tried on the basis of 'innocent until proven guilty'. Past expulsions must be reviewed. Youth autonomy must be insured. In this way we can demonstrate our desire for a freer more democratic society and insure the dynamic and progressive growth of the party.

## QUEBEC

The last few years have seen a growing revolt by the people of Quebec against domination by the Ottawa government and Anglo-Saxon capital. At the same time the concept of biculturalism has been popularized as the great healer of the schisms. The NDP as the party of the working people must consider this question beyond the vague level of biculturalism and deal with the most pressing problems of the Quebec working people.

Quebec, because of its unique history, culture and geography constitutes a nation. This being so, self-determination for the people of Quebec must be the foundation of our program on Quebec. To give concrete expression to this principle we must recognize that the farmers and wage workers of Quebec are in revolt, not against some nebulous denial of biculturalism but against their severe economic deprivation, their exploited position as cheap labor for Anglo-Saxon North American industry and their second class citizenship. Demonstrations by students and farmers, a rapid growth of trade unions and the birth of a multitude of socialist and nationalist organizations attest to this. The question of French culture and language is therefore only a reflection of the deep economic and social injustices in Quebec. Solutions which remain on the cultural level ignore the real problems.

We must further recognize that the present government of Quebec does not represent the interests of the Quebec workers. The social and economic legislation instituted by this government, in itself a good thing, has been instituted in the interests of developing the economic power of native Quebec capitalists. The political representatives of this class like Premier Lesage have no intentions — nor the ability to deal seriously with the long term problems of Quebec workers . . . automation, living standards etc.

Genuine self-determination for the people of Quebec



4.  
therefore means the coming to power of a workers' party. The working people of Quebec are beginning this struggle now. It is our responsibility to encourage and aid this struggle for a mass socialist party of Quebec labor.

## THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Another revolution, no less significant, for more than half of humanity is involved, continues today. This revolution has accelerated in North America during the past period with the appearance of Simone de Beauvoir and other women who are concerned with the subordinate position of women since the beginning of civilization and particularly in capitalist society.

It is no accident that women today are becoming more and more conscious of their discriminated position. The hardships and injustices of the present system are felt more intensely by women, since after decades of struggles and protest they have not achieved economic and social equality with men. Since women are a majority this means

that most Canadians are subjected to discrimination and degrading second class citizenship.

Economic exploitation of women remains the most basic and pervasive form of discrimination; limited and stereotyped job 'opportunities'; below standard wages; little opportunity for higher education; Madison Avenue campaigns by the big consumer industries which keep women at the grindstone of household labor buying the products of overproducing industry. These are the most glaring manifestations of women's economic position in capitalist society.

The New Democratic Party must give leadership to Canadian women. It must devote a section of its program for a charter on women's rights, emphasizing the necessity of revolutionizing women's position in the economy. It must deal broadly and boldly with abortion, divorce, day care and all other areas where women are denied the freedom and equality that are rightfully theirs.

By attacking one of the most obvious injustices of capitalism the NDP can demonstrate its sincerity and conviction to establish a just social order.

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with voluntary labor.*

*If you are in general agreement with this statement  
and wish to contribute to the building of a socialist  
NDP, then join the SOCIALIST CAUCUS.*

*Convention address: The Green Room, Walker House Hotel, 121 Front West.*

*Phone: EM. 3-4041*

*(3 min. from the convention floor)*

*After the convention: Helen Olson, Secretary Treasurer,  
NDP Socialist Caucus (Toronto), 8 Neepawa Ave.*

*Phone: 535-6643*

# NO HONORS FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY!

Adlai Stevenson, United States representative to the United Nations has defended United States' policy in Indo-China as "the restoration of peace so that the peoples of the area can go about their own independent business in whatever associations they may freely choose for themselves without interference from the outside."

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE MADE THEIR CHOICE. THEY HAVE CHOSEN THE FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. THEY HAVE CHOSEN LAND REFORM. THEY HAVE REJECTED DOMINATION BY DICTATORS PROPPED UP BY U.S. TROOPS. THE ONLY INTERFERENCE FROM THE OUTSIDE IS U.S. INTERFERENCE. RESTORATION OF PEACE CAN TAKE PLACE ONLY AFTER AMERICAN TROOPS HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN.

"We have faithfully supported the political solutions that were agreed upon at Geneva in 1954." - Adlai Stevenson, May 21, 1965

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE NATIONWIDE ELECTIONS STIPULATED FOR 1956 IN VIETNAM? WHAT ABOUT THE CLAUSE STATING THERE WOULD BE NO REPRISALS AGAINST POLITICAL OPPONENTS? WHY DID THEY PUT THOUSANDS IN 'POLITICAL RE-EDUCATION' CAMPS? WHY WAS SO. VIETNAM BROUGHT UNDER THE PROTECTIVE UMBRELLA OF SEATO? WHY WAS FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND GOODS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH NOT ALLOWED? WAS NOT THIS PART OF THE AGREEMENT? IN POINT, HOW COULD MR. STEVENSON STOOP TO SUCH HYPOCRISY TO COVER THE ILLEGALITY OF U.S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM?

"I personally need no credentials as a spokesman for racial equality and social justice in this country (U.S.) and the government of this country needs none in the world." -Adlai Stevenson in the U.N., Dec. 14, 1965, answering charges of racial overtones of U.S. policy in the Congo.

WHAT ABOUT MISSISSIPPI, MR. STEVENSON? WHAT ABOUT SELMA, ALABAMA?

As United States' representative to the U.N., Adlai Stevenson has represented and defended these murderous policies. If he disagrees with any of the 'embarrassing' bad briefs' he has presented on behalf of his country, he is a coward and a hypocrite for not dissociating himself from these policies. He is part and parcel of American policy in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Santo Domingo.

THE CONFERRING OF ANY HONOR BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO ON THIS MAN IS THE CONFERRING OF AGREEMENT WITH THE POLICIES HE STANDS FOR. WE STAND OPPOSED TO THESE POLICIES. AND WE STAND OPPOSED TO HIS RECEIVING OF AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO!!!!

HANDS OFF VIETNAM! HANDS OFF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC!

U.S. GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY IS NOT WELCOME HERE! ADLAI STEVENSON IS NOT WELCOME HERE!

CANADA MUST TAKE A FIRM STAND DISSOCIATING ITSELF FROM U.S. FOREIGN POLICY!

CEASE ALL SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN WARS!!!

This demonstration is being sponsored by Toronto Young New Democrats. At the end of the demonstration, the people assembled here will be addressed by a member of the Ontario Young New Democrats who will explain more fully why we are here. Thank you for participating in our demonstration.

For further information about the O Y N D please write to:  
Ontario Young New Democrats  
11½ Spadina Road  
Toronto 5  
Or phone 924-4565 or 531-4453



French Canada, because of its distinct language, culture, history, and self-awareness constitutes a nation, whose political expression is Quebec. This was recognized by the Founding Convention of the New Democratic Party which recognized Canada as a bi-national state. Quebec thus should have the elementary right of all nations to self-determination.

Confederation has been an apparatus for the political domination of French Canada by the English Canadian ruling class. The French-Canadian economy is almost entirely owned and managed by Canadian, British and American capital, and managed by their English-Canadian lieutenants. The Federal government apparatus: parliament, bureaucracy and armed forces is dominated by the English Canadian rulers.

For the workers and farmers of Quebec, their economic exploitation at the hands of Capitalism is compounded by a national subservience within Confederation.

We see today in Quebec the beginnings of a revolt against this situation. This can be seen in the rise of militant "independentist" groups in the student syndicalist movement, in the new militancy of trade unions and farmers organizations and the spontaneous movements towards organizations into trade unions by white collar workers.

These movements are the embryonic manifestation of a developing larger movement of the working people of French Canada to gain control over their political and economic destiny.

The New Democratic Party must support this movement. We must recognize that these movements have a fundamentally progressive social character, in that they are directed against a particular form of oppression. The New Democratic Party should recognise and defend the right of Quebec to determine its own political and economic destiny within or outside of a Canadian union.

#### FACTS

Wages: Average annual earnings of a rural family are less than \$1500.  
Skilled workers average wage in Montreal is 25% lower than in Toronto.  
Minimum hourly wage is 63c in Montreal

Unemployment: Quebec with 25% of the population has almost 40% of the total unemployed in Canada.

Strikes: Large number of lengthy duration -  
La Presse - 7 month strike - involved freedom of expression of journalists - strike lost - Pelltier fired.  
Quebec Liquor Commission - 2 month strike.  
3,000 workers on strike at Canadair  
Strike of teachers - forced government to change labor laws giving all Catholic teachers the right to strike.  
Longshoremen's strike, Dupuis Freres  
Montreal Transportation Commission.  
Prov. buses  
Gas Retailers.



Income: Family income in Quebec is 30% lower than the national average

Population: and ethnic roots in Quebec

80% of the population is of French origin (other parts of Canada have a heavy concentration of French-Canadians; Burnaby, B.C., St. Boniface, Man., Gravelbourg, Sask., St. Vital, Man.)

Quebec is considered as the fatherland of these French Canadians outside of Quebec.

In Montreal when English used to be 53% of the population, they are now only 27.9%)

Natural Resources (ownership of)

80% of Quebec's natural resources and industry is owned and controlled by American and English capital and tends to be production industries as opposed to consumption and service industries which tends to be the centre of the French Canadian capital.

All resort areas etc. are privately owned-largely American.

Schools

French Canadian Universities are financed by inadequate public funds while English-language institutions are financed by English dominated business interests. e.g. Uof M University of Montreal library totally inadequate, few scholarships to Fr. Canadian students

Bills Bill 60- created Province's first ministry of Education

- transferred Education from Church to government in form only.
- parent report to be implemented step by step

Bill 54: modified to suit labor's demands after mass protests, and threat of general strike by labour.

Farmers 1961 UCC (Catholic Farmers' Unions) carried out

-investigation found out that farmer paid average of \$209.86 in municipal taxes compared to \$100.00 for urban resident.

tax strike - withheld taxes

10,000 farmers marched on Quebec.

SEPERATISM 1963 - survey among 1000 French Canadians

- 76 % favour political separation
- 13 % favour immediate political separation

Age 18-19 ( 25% of professionals favour separation  
( 25% of students  
( 26% of those with college education  
( 29% of those with special technical training

Among the group opposed to separation was 43% of the 1000 questioned of these 69% said they move further away from separatism during the past year but 67% said they would go along with it if the majority did.

Most of the 43% said they believed separatism has importance for Quebec and 57% of them said they believe the consequences of separatist activity have been good for the province.

Growth of separatist and nationalist groups - developed social content in their political programmes.

Unions: 20,000 civil servants have been organized into unions  
Nurses, engineers; doctors are beginning to form unions.  
Last fall over 50,000 university and college students organized L'Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec (This includes the Colleges Classiques - which is upper high school level )  
Bell Telephone Co. is being organized.  
A.G.A.U.M paper ( Quatier Latin ) and AGEL ( Le Carabin ) declared themselves socialist.  
Rise of CSN

Gaspe - level at grade 6 education  
- over 50% living on relief  
- no industry - depend on lumber and fishing  
- lumber monopolistically controlled  
- huge migration of people to urban centres  
- introducing automation into lumber industry

Education Cont'd

80% of Quebec is French yet there are an equal number of French university students as English

WAGE AND LABOUR DISCRIMINATION

- 1) One third of adult Canadian women are in the labour force.
- 2) Almost 30% of the whole labor force are women.
- 3) The 1st and 2nd World Wars destroyed the myths concerning which occupations were not suitable for women and they performed extremely well in the male occupational stronghold.
- 4) Women are considered the captive consumers of business interests, who perpetrate the traditional concept of family with the woman at home. A huge percentage of advertisements are geared to the woman in the home. e.g. MacFadden of MacFadden Publications Inc., in giving tips to advertisers on advertising strategy says, "...The wife of working class America looms as a massive ally for the national manufacturer." He goes on to say "show that you know that she is the family purchasing agent" and "Don't intimate that such a product will give her time to go out as this downgrades her personal worth as a housekeeper for the family" and "Women buy products to become part of the 'common man group'; the great mass of Americans that she considers as ideal and stable.
- 5) Not only are women's wages, on the whole lower than those of men, but their actual earnings are less;

CENSUS TAKEN IN 1961 OF FEMALE WORKERS

- i)  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the earning group earned less than \$1,000
- ii)  $\frac{1}{2}$  earned less than \$2,000
- iii) 7% 4,000 or over

- The comparison of men's and women's incomes indicates that incomes of individual men tend to be roughly double those of women.
- 6) There are virtually no day care centres available to those women who need them most, the working class mother.
- 7) Three provinces, Alberta, British Columbia and New Brunswick have laws of general application governing maternity leave for women workers.
- 8) Equal pay laws have been enacted in seven provinces; Alberta, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Ontario, P.E.I. and Saskatchewan. But it is almost impossible to contest violations as most women are not protected by unions and therefore the laws have been virtually not implemented.
- The Federal Parliament passed equal pay legislation in 1956 for federal employees
- 9) In any case, work has to be evaluated whether it is equal or not to that of men. This makes it difficult for women in jobs geared specifically to women.
- 10) Minimum wage laws are the same for both sexes in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick and Quebec and Saskatchewan. By the end of 1965 there will be a minimum rate of \$1 per hour in Ontario for both sexes.

DIVORCE

Adultery is the only grounds for divorce in Canada, even then it is expensive and a lengthy procedure. It is often beyond the means of many couples, forcing them to live together in a state which affects the social and emotional adjustment of both the couple and their children as the case may be.

ABORTION

- The law decrees that no one shall terminate a pregnancy unless the actual physical life of the woman is in danger.
- established to protect the life of the unborn infant.
- philosophy that a minute piece of protoplasm is of more intrinsic importance than the well-being of the woman who bears it.

# FACT SHEET N.D.P. SOCIALIST CAUCAS

## The War in Vietnam

### A Chronology of Events

- 939 AD The Vietnamese expelled Chinese after 1,000 yrs. of occupation.
- 1858 French conquest started and by 1884 they controlled all of Indo-China which included the historical states of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.
- 1940 Japan occupied parts of Indo-China and received cooperation of the French administration.
- 1941 Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (Viet Minh) formed wider leadership of Ho Chi Minh to oppose Japanese and French
- Early 1945 Japanese arrested the French administration and set up an independent Vietnam with Bao Dai as ruler
- 1945 The Viet Min deposed Bao Dai, drove out the Japanese, and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
- There were no foreign troops in Vietnam at this time. The republic was truly free for the first time since 1858.
- July 1945 The Potsdam Meeting (Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin)
- French suzerainty was reorganized over all of Indo-China but as France was not in any condition to re-occupy the country it was agreed that England and China should occupy the country temporarily. Vietnam was divided at the 16th parallel and the northern part was allotted to China, and the southern part to England.
- Sept. 1945 British troops under General Gracey landed in Saigon to occupy their sector of Vietnam. The Viet Minh cooperated with them but the English turned on the Viet Minh and arrested their leaders. The English were having problems of their own in India and as they had no direct financial interest in Vietnam they handed the southern sector over to France as soon as the French were able to resurrect and dispatch troops of the Foreign Legion.



The French made an agreement with Chiang Kai Shek for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from North Vietnam.

This left the French in control on the south and the Viet Minh under Ho Chi Minh in control of the North

March 6 1946 The Viet Minh signed an agreement with the French administration permitting the return of French troops to northern Vietnam and for the inclusion of Vietnam in the French Union. In return the French promised eventual independence.

This placed soldiers of the Viet Minh and troops of the French Foreign Legion together in northern Vietnam. Incidents occurred between these two groups.

Nov. 1946 The Viet Minh had continued as the government of northern Vietnam ever since the Japanese left in 1945. The French now broke off relations with the Viet Minh government and bombarded the city of Haiphong, killing 6,000 Vietnamese. They then occupied Hanoi and the Viet Minh government fled to the northern mountains.

The French war against the Vietnamese people had begun.

March 1947 The French action in Vietnam was ratified by Paris government, including the socialist premier, Ramadier, and the communist vice-premier, Maurice Thorez.

May 1954 Defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu.

400,000 French troops were involved during the war and the cost to France exceeded the benefits received under the Marshall Plan to rebuild France.

Both Truman and Eisenhower backed the French and with the expulsion of Chiang Kai Shek from the Chinese mainland in 1949 the US then assumed the major cost of the war at the time of Dien Bien Phu the US was bearing 80% of the cost.

The US offered nuclear arms for the use at Dien Bien Phu but the government of both France and England feared the reaction to these weapons at home and would not agree to their use

July 1954 Geneva Conference

Attended by 14 nations.

Jointly chaired by UK and USSR

Produced Geneva accords

Accords signed by all except the US which argued verbally to abide by them

Accords

Division of Vietnam into North and South at the 17th parallel to permit the orderly withdrawal of French troops to South Vietnam and out of Vietnam completely, and Viet Minh troops to North Vietnam.

Elections throughout Vietnam in 1956.

No foreign troops or bases to be located in either part of Vietnam.

No foreign alliances by either part.

Formation of an International Control Commission to supervise implementation of the accords. (India, Poland and Canada)

Enforcement of the accords remained the prerogative of the 14 nations who attended the Geneva conference.

Results of the Geneva Conference

North Vietnam under government of Ho Chi Minh

South Vietnam under government of Bao Dai as Chief of State, with Diem as his Prime Minister.

1954 The Diem government proceeded to abolish land reform which had been instituted by the Viet Minh during the war. They also abolished local elections, suppressed all political opposition and jailed the opposition leaders.

1954 SEATO formed as an instrument of US policy in Asia.

July 1955 Ho Chi Minh appealed to Bao Dai to begin joint arrangements for the election of a Vietnamese parliament in 1956. Ngo Dinh Diem as Prime Minister, spurned these overtures on the grounds that democracy was impossible in the north.

1955 The hypocrisy of Diem's position was revealed when the International Control Commission released a paper on their investigations into conditions in South Vietnam. This included substantiated charges of:

- suppression of political opposition
- police brutality including torture
- mass arrests
- shooting of demonstrators

These charges involved 300 deaths and 200 jailed

Oct 1955 Eisenhower declared support for Diem as head of state. Diem declared South Vietnam a republic and deposed Bao Dai. A rigged public referendum with 10% of the population participating, backed his actions with a 97% affirmation.

Eisenhower justified this action on the basis that an honest general election throughout Vietnam would have placed Ho Chi Minh in power. His adviser told him at least 70% of the population would vote for Ho Chi Minh.

1957 There was little organized opposition to Diem until 1957 when Diem started mass arrests of all elements he considered opposed to his regime -- communists, budhists, liberals and various minor sects.

Dec 20 1960 Various political parties opposed to Diem organized the National Liberation Front with its military arm-- the Viet Cong. The Communist Party was the largest group and played the dominant role.

1962 By 1962 the Diem Government had lost control over the major part of the country areas. The US 'advisers' then devised a new strategy based on two main points.

1) Concentration Camps

Under a plan called 'Operation Sunrise' the peasantry were herded into protected hamlets. This was intended to isolate the Viet Cong.

The peasants in the 'protected hamlets' still cooperated with the Viet Cong and the government troops were transformed into the role of jailers.

2) (see (2) below)

Fall 1963 The Americans decided they could not win with Diem and they permitted his assassination.

1964 The US provoked or manufactured a series of naval incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin. Using these incidents as an excuse they opened a new phase of the war--aerial warfare against North Vietnam

1965 President Johnson openly announced a war of escalating proportions against North Vietnam until they (the North Vietnamese) 'come to the conference table!

cont'd from above

2) Divide And Rule

The Americans armed the mountain tribes and encouraged them to assert their 'independence' from the Vietnamese.

This new strategy failed because both the peasants and the mountain tribes were Vietnamese and were in fact the base of the National Liberation Front.



The Colonial Revolution

Until the full weight of the colonial revolution was upon us in the 1950s, it was widely thought that the revolutionary forces would first be successful in the industrialized states of Europe and that the results would then flow out to the colonial world. This has not been the case. There has not been a successful revolution in the industrialized states in any part of the world since the October revolution in 1917 in USSR. There were revolutionary waves after each world war and again in the thirties, and most European states were embroiled in one or more of these waves but in no single instance was there a success.

With the failure of revolutionary efforts in the homelands of Capitalism, the revolution shifted to the colonial world. This movement was given added impetus in 1949 when Chiang Kai Shek's Koumintang armies were driven from the Asian mainland. The conditions which allowed the colonial revolution to develop were : -

- 1) Weakening of the old colonial powers during and after World War II.,
- 2) Worsening of terms of trade for nations exporting raw materials,
- 3) Material and moral degeneration in colonial countries
- 4) Dawning mass awareness of increasing disparity between the have and have-not nations,
- 5) The examples of progress in the USSR and China.

The weakening of the European powers also had the effect of setting the stage for the United States to become the world's major colonial power. The United States had long ruled Latin America and the Philippines with a big stick and now her war-swollen coffers combined with the decline of Europe to open the road to world-wide domination of the old colonial world. What would not fall to her by default would be bought or stolen by design.

The forces involved lift the colonial struggle into the arena of modern war. 400,000 French troops fought in Vietnam, 75,000 American troops are there now and more are on the way. While the organized armed forces available to the people are generally markedly smaller or non-existent, they can draw on the whole native population for reinforcements and support and they have often supplemented their arms and supplies from the enemy forces.

The colonial revolution has not been bloodless. In 1945 the French killed 45,000 Algerians at Sefif and in 1947 they killed 90,000 peasants in Madagascar. The people of Kenya suffered 200,000 casualties in their fight for freedom from the English. The Americans are now using every weapon modern science can produce short of nuclear arms, against the people of Vietnam.



The colonial revolution covers the globe. Full scale wars have been fought in China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaya, Kenya, Korea, Suez, Algeria, Laos and Angola. In addition armed intervention has occurred in Guatemala, Lebanon and Cuba while a variety of combinations of other forms of intervention and aggression have been practised against practically every country in Latin America.

It has become difficult to withdraw from the colonial revolution. A threat to the English pound convinced Harold Wilson to lend material and moral support to military action to sustain Tshombe and his mercenaries. Wilson's need for support for his own neo-colonial regime in Malaysia forced him to give moral backing to the American action in Vietnam. North Vietnam has been made a hostage for the good behaviour of the people of South Vietnam.

The original colonization owed much of its success to the ability of the Europeans to have Asians fighting Asians, Africans fighting Africans, etc. The same tactic is evolving in the war against the colonial revolution. The bulk of the ground forces on both sides in the Korean war were Koreans; Koumintang Chinese are still maintained in Formosa as a threat to China; Arabs are fighting Arabs in the Yemen; Malaysia is being prepared as a festering sore in South East Asia, and Latin American troops have been dragooned into the American intervention in the Dominican Republic. This technique eliminates the need for large numbers of western servicemen to become involved in the dirty war on the ground. They can play the more acceptable roles of advisers and the men in the machines operating above the battleground or floating off-shore.

Few people have been able to remain aloof from the colonial revolution. Canadian troops fought Koreans in Korea and helped to pacify Congolese in the Congo. Canadian-manufactured Caribou aircraft are now transporting napalm and poison gas in Vietnam and the Canadair company of Montreal is advertising a special counter-insurgency aircraft for use against the people of Latin America. We are involved.

During the early years of the colonial revolution the Western governments obscured all aspects of the revolution - the causes, the extent, the progress made by the revolutionaries and the forms of counter-action taken against them. American involvement was denied in the overthrow of the governments of Mossadegh of Iran, Arbenz of Guatemala, and Goulart of Brazil. The betrayal and murder of Prime Minister Lumumba of the Congo was obscured in a morass of mumbo-jumbo about the blacks not being ready for independence. Similar tactics were used to involve the UN in Korea, to cover the English grab for Suez and to isolate revolutionary Cuba. These efforts to mislead the public were not always completely successful but they did serve to make a viciously repressive foreign policy palatable to a largely apathetic public at home.

In recent months there has been a distinct change in presenting American foreign policy to the public. The government and press now openly admit past and present American involvement in the overthrow

of popular revolutionary regimes and popular publications have documented in considerable detail brutalities practised by American soldiers and their allies. They justify these actions as harsh necessities dictated by the need to contain the Communist-backed world revolution. In other words we are now fighting the ideology of Communism with the very means which were once ascribed to communist states to justify their isolation from the world community.

This more candid approach does not normally extend to the most basic question - Why does the power structure in the western world consider it necessary to have a colonial or neo-colonial world at all? However the answer was given succinctly by President Eisenhower to a gathering of state governors on August 4, 1953 :

" Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. The peninsula, the last bit of land hanging on down there would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. So when the United States votes \$400,000,000 to help that war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power, and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from South-East Asia."

The lucrative nature of colonial investments is hidden in the financial statements of the foreign based corporations operating in the colonial world. One indication of their durability is the fact that the Union Miniere, the European based corporation which controls the mines of Katanga province, showed an increase in profits during the peak year of the crisis in the Congo. The insulation these corporations enjoy from public opinion is reflected in the fact that one of the largest companies incorporated in the racist Union of South Africa, the Anglo American Corporation, is able to reap profits from investments throughout Africa and from its main source of revenue in North America - the Hudson Bya Mining and Smelting Company Limited of Canada. International Capitalism has no conscience and recognizes none in others.

We could explore the colonial revolution from many more perspectives and to much greater depth but little purpose would be served. The truth is there for all who wish to see. The colonial revolution is simply a part of the larger struggle of all men to shape our world to meet our needs. The enemy is all too plain whether it looks out on Bay Street, Wall Street or on to some remote corner of the colonial world - it is the ugly face of international monopoly capitalism. Our colonial brothers fight our fight. His lot is more poignant because his needs are glaring, his hurts more numerous, the forces arrayed against him so vast and unjust. We must help him to win our fight.

## COLONIAL REVOLUTION

Question : Where has US Imperialist capital been invested and for what purpose ?

Fact : Howard Rusk ( a member of the Clay " Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World appointed by Kennedy ) writes in the New York Times April 5 1963. Since the Marshall Plan, the U.S. has spent 50 billion on foreign aid. Of this, some 30 billion went for military equipment. "Of the remaining 20 billion about ... was also military in that these funds were made available to support the budget of nations that have undertaken a scale of military effort far greater than they can afford " Of the five billion left 3.5 billion was spent on development loans and 1.5 billion on technical assistance in the fields of health education and welfare". Since the aid went to about 90 countries, it is clear that economic development towards a serious goal of the program.

2) Kennedy himself defended foreign aid against his critics by pointing out 90% of foreign aid was spent on US products, that foreign aid created 500,000 jobs and that it made possible the maintenance of 3.5 million allied troops along the communist perimeters.

Source : New York Times Internal Edition Nov. 9 1963



(Found in 1964)

## EFFECTS OF AUTOMATION IN CANADA - FACT SHEET N.D.P. SOCIALIST CAUCUS

1. The CLC estimates that 150,000 office jobs have been eliminated by automation.
2. John I. Snyder Jr., Co-Chairman of American Foundation on Automation and Employment, in "Industry's Human Responsibilities in the Age of Automation" states "there is the myth that everyone will always be employed because it takes people to make machines and keep them running. Perhaps in the long run, this will turn out to be true but I doubt it."
3. "From 1947 to 1953 labor force increased by 455,000 workers, 89% of whom found jobs. From 1953 to 1956 labor force increased by 385,000 workers and almost 91% found jobs. From 1956 to 1960 labor force increased by 370,000 but only 60% of the new workers found jobs." - CLC statistics. What about the 40% who did not?

### IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS OF OFFICE AUTOMATION

(Economics and Research Branch, Dept of Labour, Ottawa.)

"A common estimate is that the introduction of a large-scale computer into a head office organization with 2,000 employees might be expected to eliminate 200 to 500 clerical jobs over a 2 to 5 year period, assuming that the volume of work remained constant."

### EFFECTS OF AUTOMATION IN THE U.S.A.

NOTE: The phenomena that we are witnessing in the USA i.e. the application of automation to an archaic economic and social system, monopoly capitalism, will very rapidly be introduced into Canada with the same results i.e. social crisis. Therefore it is valuable to investigate the effects in the USA as well as in Canada. Except for a few pamphlets and essays very little material has been written about the effects of automation in Canada but what has been written is included in this fact sheet.

1. SOURCE: The Triple Revolution by Ad Hoc Committee, is an appraisal by some leading authoritative radical American intellectuals on the major crisis in the USA. Some members of the Ad Hoc Committee are: James Boggs, Michael Harrington (sociologist), Tom Hayden, Dr. Frances W. Herring, Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Horter, Gunnar Myrdal (economist), Gerard Piel (Editor Scientific American), Robert Theobald, William Worthy, Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, Linus Pauling (Nobel Peace Prize and Nobel Prize Chemistry.)

statement: "An industrial economic system postulated on scarcity has been unable to distribute the abundant goods and services produced by a cybernated system or potential in it: surplus capacity and unemployment have thus coexisted at excessive levels over the last six years." The underlying cause of excessive unemployment is the fact that the capability of machines is rising more rapidly than the capacity of many human beings to keep pace." "A permanent impoverished and jobless class is established in the midst of potential abundance."

2. Evidence for these statements follows:
  1. Increased efficiency of machine systems. In 1961, 1962 and 1963 productivity per man hour rose at an average pace above 3.5%, a rate well above both the historical average and post-war rate.
  2. In recent years it has proved impossible to increase demand fast enough to bring about the full use of either men or plant capacities.



A 30 billion annual increase in the Gross National Product is now acquired to prevent unemployment rates from rising. An additional 40-60 billion increase would be required to bring unemployment rates down to an "acceptable level."

3. Yet the GNP in the last 4 years has averaged 25-30 billion in a boom period.
4. The official rate of unemployment has remained at a level of 5.5% during the Sixties during a period of economic prosperity. The unemployment rate for teen-agers has been rising steadily and now stands around 15%.  
The unemployment rate for Negro teen-agers stands above 30%.  
The unemployment rates for teen-agers in minority ghettos sometimes exceeds 50%.

#### EFFECT OF "AUTOMATION IN THE U.S.A.

SOURCE: - Automation:

Its Impact on Business and People, by Walter Buckingham, Director of School of Industrial Management and Prof. of Economics at Georgia Institute of Technology.

Effects on Unemployment: Does automation create more jobs than it displaces?

1. "In the Bell system, telephone calls have increased by nearly 60% since 1946, but employment in the telephone industry has increased by only 28%. From 1956 to 1957 calls increased by 2.8% while employment rose by only 1%."
  2. U.S.A. Railroad Industry: Southern Railroad.  
"In 1956 gross business was 60% above 1946 but efficiency (ratio of gross-ton-miles per freight-train-hour) was up 116% and profits after taxes rose from 19.5 to 40.5 million. But during this decade, the Southern railroad's employment dropped from 40,000 to 22,000, a drop of 45% while nation-wide, the drop of railroad employment was 16%."  
Although the instability of the U.S.A. business cycle, i.e., monopoly capitalism, is partially to blame, automation as grafted onto the capitalist social system is the fundamental reason. Remember, this period, i.e., from 1946 to 1956 was a boom period.
  3. "There are 60 depressed areas in the U.S.A. where unemployment persists at 6% to 14%. The economies of most of these areas rest on rapidly automating industries such as steel, coal and auto."
  4. Study by D.G. Osborn "Geographical Effects of Automation" revealed that in 12 cases of automation ranging from chocolate refining to railroad traffic control, reduction in employee requirements ranged from 13% to 92% with average reduction in employment of 63.4%.  
By its very nature automation abolishes jobs but does this new social phenomenon grafted on capitalist property relations create as many jobs as it displaces?
1. "Electronics output in U.S.A. in 1956 was 325% above 1947 but employment increased in that industry by barely 5%."
  2. "Number of workers in manufacturing fell 7%."
  3. Because of the sharp increase in the number of youths coming on the labour market with no corresponding increase in job opportunities "a serious depression or a sharp drop in economic production from these

causes alone could result in 1965, if proper economic planning is not introduced." But how can we have economic planning without public ownership of industry?

4. 50% more autos produced to-day (1964) with no more employees than in 1947.
5. 12 men to-day produce a ton of steel an hour as against 20 in 1941.

#### Social Effects of Automation -

Dr. Gunther Friedrichs, director of the automation and nuclear energy division of the German Metal Workers Union said "German workers are being down-graded because of modern technology. Their skills are outmoded."

# THE NEW DEMOCRAT

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## A New Democrat special report

# Canada's screwball left: the Trotskyites

AT the recent New Democratic Party federal convention, over 800 delegates saw a tiny group set out to disrupt, delay, and if possible, to discredit the proceedings. With the unwitting help of the press, they managed to get enormous publicity for themselves, and to some extent, to damage the reputation of the Party.

Only on the last day of the convention did the little group's shrill voice falter, as disgusted supporters of the New Democratic Party's left wing struggled out of the trap set for them by the leaders of the so-called "Socialist Caucus".

For them and for many other New Democrats, this had been an introduction to the tactics of the Trotskyites, Canada's screwball left. The "Socialist Caucus" was only the most recent Trotskyite device to capture genuine New Democrats who seek profound and economic change.

### ACTUALLY COMMUNISTS

Trotskyites are actually Communists with a difference. They are more doctrinaire, more anarchist and more factional. They are wedded to the losing side in a forty year old quarrel between Trotsky and Stalin over control of the Soviet Union. Stalin won and Trotsky fled, organizing his tiny band of supporters into the Fourth International.

Although the differences in Marxist theory between Trotsky and Stalinists were small, the bitterness of the fight remains. One major incident was the assassination of Trotsky in his Mexican exile. A more recent development was the refusal of the Castro government to permit a group of Canadian young people to visit Cuba under Trotskyite auspices.

In Canada and in most other western democracies, the Communist Party is relatively weak and unable to claim much popular support. Yet even by Communist standards, the Trotskyites are a splinter. Today, there are about 500 Trotskyites in Canada and even these are divided into a number of factions.

### MAJOR ELEMENT

The major element is the League for Socialist Action, a little band which has supporters in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, is small, but vigorous in its pursuit of high school students.

Headquarters of the LSA is the Vanguard Book Store, a combined book shop and meeting hall on Yonge Street in Toronto. There one finds rows of pamphlets and tracts, many of them by Trotsky himself, with others appealing to more contemporary enthusiasms. Proprietor of the book store is Ross Dowson, secretary of Canada's Trotskyite movement, and perennial Toronto mayoralty candidate.

Ambassador of the movement is a monthly newspaper called the *Workers' Vanguard*—with a young people's version, *The Young Socialist Forum*. Both of these rather similar publications are long on denunciations and dialectic, short on readability.

### ABYSMAL FAILURE

Some years ago, the Trotskyites formed a political party. After an abysmal and predictable failure, the party was dissolved and the members were directed to infiltrate the CCF. Their claim was that the CCF would succeed if it adopted policies which had proven unacceptable under the Trotskyite banner.

A detailed instruction sheet for this infiltration of the CCF was pre-

pared by Dowson.

Today, the Trotskyites are still hard at it. Unable to build a political party of their own, they are acting like parasites on the body of other political parties, particularly the New Democratic Party. They have two aims—to make converts and to control the Party as its "Vanguard". If unable to control it, they would prefer to destroy it from within by disruption and division.

### DESTROY THE N.D.P.

Since there is no hope of ever controlling the New Democratic Party, the Trotskyites have set out to destroy it. As tools, they have devised three ingenious theories, all of which were seen in action at the recent Federal Convention.

The first theory is that there are two kinds of member in a political party—the Brass and the Rank and File. By this theory, there is steady conflict between these two levels and the Brass is only elected by devilish plotting at Conventions. At all times and on every occasion, the Brass persecute the Rank and File.

At the Founding Convention, most innocent observers felt that Tommy Douglas was supported by almost all members, Brass or not. Not so, say the Trotskyites. Tommy Douglas was the candidate of the Brass. The Brass must always fight the Rank and File. Therefore, Hazen Argue was the candidate for them. Argue was defeated only because of the persecuting Brass.

The second theory dear to Trotskyite hearts is the Divine Right of Minorities (Especially Us). Although the Trots cannot stand opposition in their own ranks—hence the constant splintering off of factions—they demand that they and all who would

*continued overleaf*



help them to destroy the New Democratic Party must have full rights to do so.

Because of the Theory of Persecution of the Rank and File, all attacks on the Brass are Good Things. Not only have the Trotskyites the right to disrupt systematically and to their heart's content, and to attack Party leaders and program, it is Undemocratic for the leaders, or anyone else, to attack them.

The final theory is that everyone should support the Trotskyites in their disruptive tactics. Since the misfortunes of the people in general and the Party in particular are due to the persecutions of the Brass, the only cure is to attack the Brass. Since the Trotskyites are doing such a magnificent job of attacking the leadership and program, everyone should support them.

The theory holds that everyone is "Left Wing" except the Capitalists and the Brass. The "Proletariat", the Rank and File, and of course the Trotskyites, are especially left wing. If only the Rank and File would support the Trotskyites and throw out the Brass, the Proletariat would immediately rush forward and elect the Vanguard by revolution. So they say.

### MORE RADICAL

There are many people in the New Democratic Party who are more radical than the program. Without the support of these people, the Trotskyites are completely ineffective. With the help of those three theories, the Trotskyites manage to get some of this support. They even claim that without their help and leadership, the radicals would be completely ineffective. In fact, *the opposite is true.*

Radicals who wish to get one of their planks adopted by the Party convention depend on having their proposals heard in a spirit of mutual tolerance. The presence of Trotskyites, with their continual bickering and personal attacks, make this impossible. Trotskyites immediately create an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance.

Left wing social democrats invari-

ably suffer the worst since they are left in the middle of the argument, with the choice of supporting the Trotskyite Vanguard or the majority of moderate delegates. Either way, they have lost their chance to have their point of view adopted.

There are several reasons why Trotskyite harrassing tactics have not yet been stopped. First, they are so small in numbers that they hardly seem worth the trouble to remove.

But the second reason is that the Trotskyites work in secret. They never admit their real loyalty, and therefore party members never know with whom they are dealing. In fact, Trots go out of their way to hide the fact that they are members of another political party (which is contrary to the constitution of the New Democratic Party).

### SECRET ORGANIZATION

Almost all New Democrats disagree with one or two points in the party's program. After all, the program is only a compromise between the opinions of thousands of members.

But the Trotskyite disagrees with the *principles* of the party and has formed his own secret organization to destroy it. His whole time is spent in promoting his own newspapers and pamphlets, in attacking the party program and leadership, and in recruiting fellow conspirators.

One recent Trotskyite ploy was to go around to Toronto high schools spreading stories that the New Democratic Party was controlled by the "reactionary trade unions". They also worked in personal attacks against individual party leaders.

Trotskyites have no use for democratic conventions, either. After a convention vote, genuine New Democrats unite and work for the common decision.

Not so the Trotskyite. For him, the convention need never have been held. He continues to advocate his own ideas, and tries wherever possible to present these ideas to the public as official policy of the New Democratic Party, even though conventions have voted otherwise.

It is this misrepresentation, as well as the continuous bickering and personal attacks, which makes the Trotskyite a hindrance rather than a help. And so they fully intend it to be:

Their tactics drive members away from party meetings which turn into long sessions of hair-splitting dogmatizing. With most members away, the Trotskyites can take over.

And if they do, they can then destroy the party. When the revolution comes, they feel, it won't be needed.



STATEMENT IN REPLY TO AN ARTICLE ON THE NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS  
IN AUGUST ISSUE OF THE NEW DEMOCRAT

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The smear can never be a substitute for serious discussion. Nonetheless, the August issue of one of our own party organs, The New Democrat, devotes an entire page entitled Canada's Screwball Left: The Trotskyites, to such an attack against the newly formed NDP Socialist Caucus.

Specifically, the caucus is charged with attempting to "disrupt, delay, and if possible, discredit the proceedings" of the recent convention and further, with being a "Trotskyite device to capture New Democrats who seek profound and economic change." The article suggests then, the Socialist Caucus is composed of screwball leftists and their dupes out to "damage the reputation of the party."

Further on, in an obvious address to party members who may be sympathetic to the caucus, the article states that party left wingers "who wish to get one of their planks adopted by the party convention depend on having their proposals heard in a spirit of mutual tolerance." The Socialist Caucus on the other hand, because it is a "Trotskyite device", created "an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance" and as a result, left wingers "lost their chance to have their point of view adopted."

What does this article really mean? What actually happened at the convention? What is the significance for the party of this kind of attack? These are questions party members, whether left, right or centre, must ask themselves and answer.

A brief look at the federal convention will answer these questions. A short time before and during the convention, a number of party left wingers with common concern about the future development and direction of the party decided to put before the convention and the party their criticisms of the present program, along with an alternative. It was felt that by pooling resources, using the printed word and organizing convention speakers, our ideas could be more effectively presented to the delegates.

This was done. A caucus program was printed. Various delegates studied a number of issues and speakers were organized to present our views on what we considered to be the key issues at the convention.

Throughout the convention, it was obvious that the majority of the delegates were unsympathetic to our views. This was not unexpected. However, as delegates to a convention where party policy was to be adopted for the next two years, we felt it was our responsibility to raise our voices and present an alternative program to one which we think is inadequate.

We ask: Is the presentation of a minority view to a party convention disruption? Can a thorough discussion of the views of members and party policy be called delay? Does the discussion of differing and conflicting views at a party convention discredit the party?

The answer to all these questions is a resounding no. Open and honest discussion of policy, criticisms and proposals can never be considered disruptive or damaging. On the contrary. As point four in the Socialist Caucus program states, a party can only develop a meaningful and correct program if the fullest discussion of policy is encouraged. This includes the discussion of minority positions.

The Socialist Caucus, far from disrupting, delaying or damaging the party, contributed significantly to the process of democratic discussion and debate, so necessary for the development of any party.

A debate of this kind could have been continued fruitfully in the pages of the New Democrat or any other party organ. We are forced to ask why the editors of the New Democrat have chosen to call an end to the debate. When they imply that the caucus position is the product of screwball thinking and therefore not worthy of consideration, they do exactly that. And when they associate the caucus with the LSA, which has been declared outlaw, they are threatening even worse - expulsion.

We ask: Are the views put forward by the Socialist Caucus - fundamental change through nationalization of basic industries - support for the colonial revolutions - the necessity for a decisive turn by the party towards the labour movement - development and maintenance of internal party democracy - genuine self-determination for Quebec - a charter on women's rights - are these screwball ideas? Does a far-reaching difference over what program is needed to best build the party and achieve political power constitute an attempt by screwballs to damage the party?

If there is now or if there was at the convention "an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance" where did it come from? Does the presentation and debate of ideas on the convention floor breed such an atmosphere or is it the product of articles like the one produced by the editors of the New Democrat? If "party radicals have lost their chance to have their viewpoint adopted" is it because of their attempts to hold principled and fraternal discussion or because of the attempts of the editors of the New Democrat to replace discussion with slanders and smears.

When these questions are thought through carefully, the significance of the article becomes clear.

The article is in essence a thinly veiled warning by the editors of the New Democrat to questioning rank and filers, party radicals, who may be, or may become interested in contributing to the Socialist Caucus. While reiterating the right of left wingers to present their views to the party, they warn them that if they conduct themselves as did the Socialist Caucus - that is, if they organize and demonstrate their seriousness to win the party to their program, if they insist on debating their proposals and criticisms at party conventions - they will be slandered and accused of being disruptive, damaging and part of a "Trotskyite device."

Such a warning negates all principles of party democracy. It places limits on the advocacy of minority views within the party by smearing serious attempts to present minority views to the membership.

Yes, say the Editors of the New Democrat. You can have a minority view, but when you are prepared to seriously solicit the support of other members, this is not permissible. You must stop or face the consequences.

New Democrats must oppose this wasteful and unprincipled use of the pages of a serious party publication. We must not permit the substitution of serious discussion with smears and slanders. We must stand solidly for the principle of internal party democracy and against attempts like this by the editors of the New Democrat to limit, through the use of smear, slander and intimidation, critical discussion of party policy.

John Steele, Chairman, NDP Socialist Caucus.  
179 Howland Ave., Toronto, Ontario.

Helen Olson, Secretary, NDP Socialist Caucus.  
8 Neepawa Ave., Toronto, Ontario.

Larry Walker, Toronto representative, NDP Socialist Caucus.  
265 Howland Ave., Toronto, Ontario.



Found in 1965

# NDP stages march on U.S. consulate

About 150 delegates to the New Democratic Party's national convention marched from the Royal York hotel to the U.S. Consulate on University Ave. today to protest American intervention in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

The demonstration occurred shortly before an announcement was made of the death in London of Adlai Stevenson, one of the most vigorous defenders of U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. Stevenson himself had encountered a similar demonstration while he was here May 28 to receive an honorary degree from the University of Toronto. At that time, he said: "If I disagree with the pickets' views, I would defend to the end their right to picket and even to sit."

## REPRESENT MANKIND

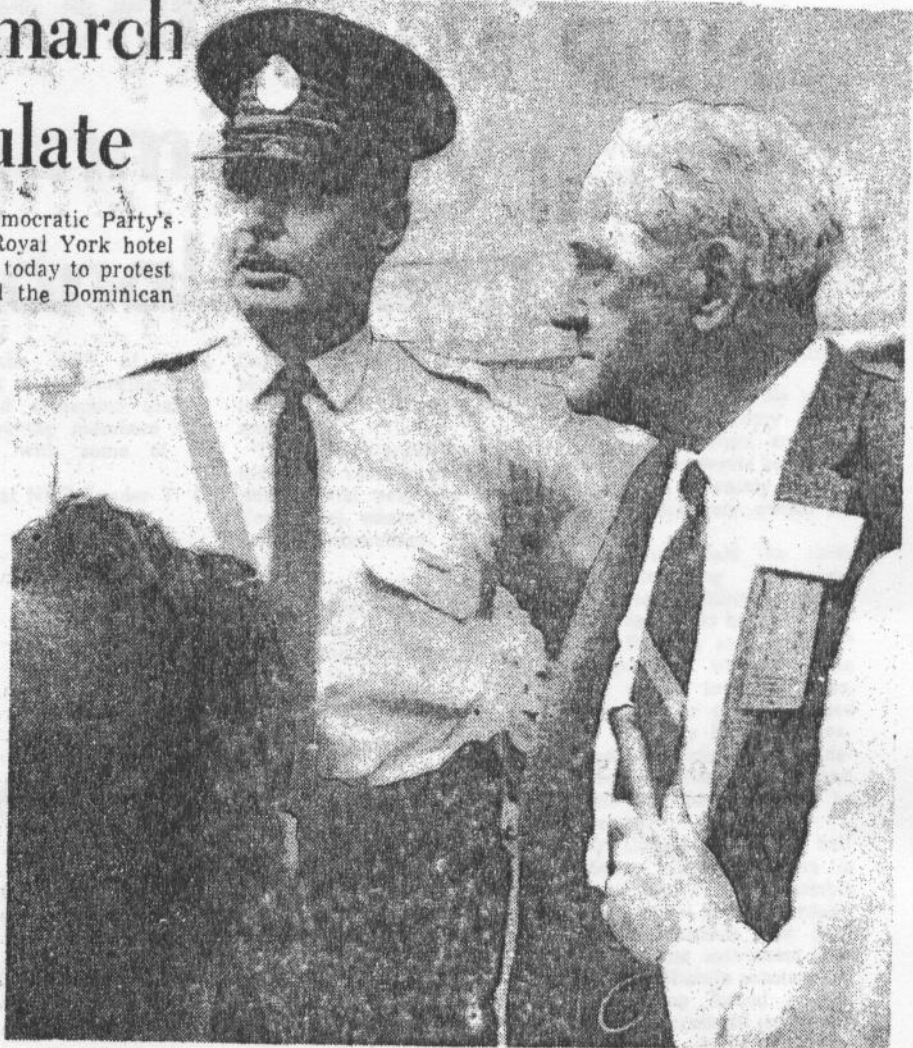
New Democratic MP H.W. Herridge spoke from the steps of the consulate, in spite of an attempt by a consulate official to halt him.

Mr. Herridge, a wealthy apple grower who represents the British Columbia riding of Kootenay West, told the demonstrators: "We represent the wishes of mankind in being here this afternoon."

Midway in Mr. Herridge's brief remarks, an unidentified consular official poked his head out the door and told police speeches were not permitted on the consulate property.

David Middleton, a former NDP candidate in York West and member of a party splinter group called the "socialist caucus" shouted: "This is Canada, you yard-bird."

The elderly Herridge said: "This is the first time I have learned that the public entrance to a U.S. consulate is not public." He went ahead and finished his speech.



H. W. HERRIDGE, M.P., IS CAUTIONED BY OFFICER AT CONSULATE  
The B.C. member told NDP marchers they were "acting on behalf of mankind"

—Star photo by Frank Te



Found in 1965

# NDP Minority Asks Total Commitment On Nationalization

A splinter group yesterday asked the New Democratic Party to commit itself to a policy of nationalization of all Canadian industry.

The group, calling itself the party's socialist caucus, ac-

cused the NDP of being ashamed of its working-class base and demanded that it stop expelling members who disagree with some of its views.

National NDP Leader T. C.

Douglas called the group "a bunch of screwballs" and said the proposals were not worth answering.

The splinter group opened a committee room in the Walker House Hotel near the Royal York Hotel, where the party's national convention is being held.

Members distributed leaflets as delegates went into the convention.

Mr. Douglas said he doubted whether there were as many as 30 delegates in the group. He said that only about a third of those in the group knew what they were doing and that they were using the others as dupes.

The group's chairman, John Steele, a 24-year-old truck driver and a member of the Spadina riding association, conceded that only a small portion of the delegates at the convention belong to the group, but he said, it has strong support from the party rank-and-file.

The group charged the party is stagnating and declining and that membership has not significantly grown.

Mr. Douglas retorted that a recent independent poll showed the party's popular support has increased from 12 to 15 per cent. He said he did not have the figures with him but membership is growing steadily.

The splinter group said that industry must be removed from the hands of a tiny class and that there should be public ownership of the country's industry.

Mr. Douglas said his party stands by its policy of a planned and mixed economy in which there would be publicly owned, privately owned and co-operatively owned industry.

The group said the party was attempting to create sham respectability by hiding its working-class base.

Mr. Douglas said the NDP had publicly welcomed the trade unions into its ranks.

The splinter group charged that members have been expelled for holding what it described as socialist views and asked that the expulsions be reviewed.

Mr. Douglas said about half a dozen young members in Ontario and British Columbia were expelled by their respective organizations last year for what the movement considered deliberate sabotage.

The group forced several votes on procedural issues and opposed the adoption of a general statement on economic policy by the convention. At no time did it muster more than 30 votes.

## It's 'socialist' wing

## NDP slaps down caucus within party

The New Democratic Party third national convention started in lively fashion yesterday.

It was less than five minutes old when David Middleton, of York West, spokesman for a so-called "socialist" caucus within the party, asked the rules of procedure be changed to allow caucuses to operate freely within the convention area.

Mr. Middleton, a former York West candidate, said his group had been told Sunday by convention officials it could not distribute literature in the Royal York hotel.

The convention of more than 800 delegates overwhelmingly sustained a re-

jection of Middleton's motion by Prof. George Grube, sessional chairman.

Off the convention floor, Middleton, a former career army officer, said the socialist caucus has about 75 members and basically stands for nationalization of the economy rather than the planned economy of NDP official policy.

He said the socialist caucus has always been prevented at conventions from putting forth its point of view. Some members had been expelled from the party, he added.

He said the party executive is against this caucus because it recognized a threat to their leadership.

## Screwballs forsooth

As an NDP voter, the recent NDP national convention in Toronto has left me somewhat puzzled. On the first day I see that T. C. Douglas has referred to a minority "socialist caucus" at the convention as a "bunch of screwballs."

For years I have supported the NDP (and the CCF before) and always people told me they were just a "bunch of screwballs." Now I read where the leader of this same party calls his minority the same thing.

J.G.

Toronto 6.

## 'Insults Woodsworth'

I agree wholeheartedly with J.G. (Voice, July 24).

Unless T.C. Douglas was quoted out of context his derogatory reference to the radical element in the NDP fold as "a bunch of screwballs" is a reflection on the late J.S. Woodsworth (the founder of the party) and the Regina Manifesto (the blueprint of party policy).

Instead of conforming NDP principles to public opinion, Tommy Douglas should educate the public to NDP policies.

JOHN S. LYNN

Bloor St. W.



# NDP

## SOCIALIST

## CAUCUS

## BULLETIN

NO 2

NOV 1965

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## NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN - NUMBER TWO

This is the second NDP Socialist Caucus bulletin. The first bulletin published in September, introduced the bulletin and the caucus programme. At that time we stated we would try to publish on a regular basis news, analysis and comment of interest to socialist and Socialist Caucus supporters in the party. This bulletin coming soon after Nov. 8th centers around the elections.

The bulletin contents have expanded this time, since there are more contributions from a number of areas. We are encouraging all readers to send to the bulletin any material of interest to socialists in the party. It is important to also send names and addresses of persons you feel would be interested in the bulletin.

With an expanded bulletin, we have expanded costs. The donations of supporters and sympathizers covered the costs of the first bulletin (see financial report). Your donations are also needed to cover the costs of this bulletin.

Send names, donations, news items or articles to:-

The NDP Socialist Caucus,  
179 Howland Avenue, Toronto 4, Ontario.

### Bulletin Correspondance across the country:

British Columbia	-	Carl Stolk, 718 No. 4 Road., Richmond
Ontario	-	George Addison, 648 Waterloo St., London. Erad Lindell, 19 Clarendon Ave., St. Catherines. Gary Porter, 195 Florence Ave., Ottawa. Rod McNeil, 1214 Beach Blvd., Hamilton Beach. Larry Walker, 265 Howland Ave., Toronto.
Quebec	-	Brande Zannis, 877 Dollard, Montreal, P.Q.

### Other NDP Socialist Caucus Publications

- 1) NDP Socialist Caucus programme.
- 2) Reply to the New Democrat.
- 3) The New Democrat Article.
- 4) Statement by David Middleton.
- 5) Election Newsletter.

For more copies of these publications, write to the bulletin address stating the number you wish. Contributions welcome.

### Temporary Editorial Committee:

John Steele

Larry Walker

David Middleton

Written and mimeographed with voluntary labor.



Since the September issue of the bulletin, in addition to the election, a number of significant developments have taken place. First, it is promising to report that the number of persons receiving the bulletin has climbed to almost four hundred, a jump of three hundred since the printing of the first bulletin. A substantial number of NDPers in B.C., Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec are now in touch with us. We have received a number of letters expressing enthusiasm for the bulletin and agreement with the perspective of an organized left in the NDP. By looking at the financial report, it is evident there has been sufficient interest and support to keep the bulletin out of the red.

In general, there has been an encouraging growth in the number of people we have been able to reach and a favorable response to our efforts to encourage socialists in the party to activate themselves.

Moreover, we have succeeded in breaking through some of the isolation we experienced immediately after the convention. Identity, a nationally circulated discussion journal of the YND left, has reprinted our reply to the New Democrat which we published in the last bulletin. This means that hundreds of Young New Democrats have the opportunity to consider our arguments defending the actions of the caucus at the last Federal Convention.

Allan Bowker, executive member of the Ontario YND Provincial Council and editor of the Ontario Newsletter although in disagreement with the Caucus, felt compelled to editorialize against the actions of the New Democrat in the last issue of the Newsletter.

More important and positive than our debate with the New Democrat are the socialists we have been able to reach in some important areas of the country. From the information we have at hand there are indications that socialists in the party are beginning to seriously consider the need for organizing and developing the left.

Dimension, an independent journal published in Winnipeg and with a circulation among NDPers, contains an article in its latest issue which, while criticizing the caucus, calls on the left to organize against the reformist direction of the party. This is another indication of some beginning motion within other areas of the NDP left.

The escalation of the war in Vietnam has added new dimensions for left development in the party. Labor councils and labor federations in key areas across the country have taken stands against the war. This opens possibilities for working people and trade unionists to move to the party in opposition to the war thus creating new ground for the development of the left.

Lastly, the increase in the NDP vote across the country, especially in urban areas with the highest concentration of workers, demonstrates the possibilities for an influx of unorganized and organized industrial workers into the party. In the final analysis success for the left depends on this factor. That we now see indications of this happening bears well for the future of the left in the NDP.

A realistic appraisal reveals socialists in the party are still extremely weak and generally isolated. The minimal movement in evidence now is only a fraction of what is required. There is a pressing need for socialists to examine their role in the party and seriously consider what steps must be taken to make the role effective. That this is being done on a minimal level is good. What is necessary now, is the beginning of a serious, thorough wide open discussion among socialists in the party on the program required for the left and the most effective way to win the party to this program. We feel the Socialist Caucus has helped begin this discussion with its programmatic contribution. We feel it is the responsibility of socialists in the party to enter this discussion in response to the possibilities which exist and the urgency of our times, with a serious perspective of bringing socialists together, organized with program-

(more)

matic clarity to continue the difficult task of reversing the present reformist direction of the party.

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NDP Socialist Caucus Financial Statement as at November 26, 1969

<u>Income</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Donations	189.10	Convention Expenses	198.76
Collections	89.61	Post Convention Expenses	16.00
		Caucus Bulletin Sept. 7th	24.01
		Election Letter Sept. 25th	11.13
		Subscription Democrat B.C.	2.00
		" Commonwealth	3.00
		File Folders Receipt Books, etc.	2.40
		Cash on hand as at 26th Nov.	21.41
	<u>\$ 278.71</u>		<u>\$ 278.71</u>

Total Income 278.71

Total Expenditure 257.30

Cash on hand 26/11 - \$ 21.41

Note: \$21.41 will not cover the expenses of this Bulletin. Bulletin No. 1 - a smaller effort cost \$24.01. Expenses for this Bulletin, because of the May 28th speech reprint and the larger circulation, will be about \$60.00. Your contributions are needed and welcomed.

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THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN

by John Steele, Toronto

The party has just come through the most significant election campaign in its history. Important, not only because of the vast resources at its disposal but also because of the unprecedented opportunity which lay before it. For this reason it is important to go over our effort critically with an eye to finding and absorbing our successes and our failures. We would be negligent if we simply said what is past is finished and turned our efforts forward without learning from this experience.

How we conducted the election campaign is therefore of vital concern, more so since the instability of a minority government may thrust us into another campaign before too long. The manner in which we conduct the next campaign, should be determined from the lessons we learn from this one.

To see the campaign in perspective, we must first look at the major social, political and economic conditions within which the campaign was fought, and describe the situation confronting the working people of Canada at that time.

Economically speaking, it was clear that the "boom" of the "Liberal good times" was somewhat of an illusion. The relatively low unemployment figures masked the difficult economic situation for hundreds of thousands of Canadian families which has been documented by the Ontario Federation of Labour study on poverty. With the soaring cost of living, real wages were stagnant or declining. The fear of unemployment through automation was prevalent in many families. Rents were rising and the monthly bills were becoming an even greater burden. In addition to all this, organized



labour was under attack from coast to coast with anti-labour legislation while the profits of the major corporations were becoming the highest in history. That the working man was in a tight economic squeeze was clearly and dramatically indicated not only by poverty statistics, but by the number of strikes and rejected contracts which have occurred over the last year involving organized workers, usually a good barometer for the feelings and moods of the vast numbers of unorganized.

Social pressures were increasing too, especially among the youth. The boredom, coldness, meaninglessness of a society where life is spent as an appendage to a press, typewriter or assembly line; where humanistic values are continually in conflict with norms necessary for a competitive dog-eat-dog system; where the chance to advance or change social status is more and more a myth; all these factors were increasingly reflected in statistics covering drug addiction, crime, mental illness, alcoholism, suicide and mental and physical breakdown.

None of these sources of pressure can be divorced from the overall spectre of war which, to one degree or another, was with every person who walked to the ballot box. The brutality in Vietnam, the distortions of the news media, the concrete threat of nuclear war and in general, the uncertainty of the future and the role of the individual in the context of super governments and entrenched economic and political power: all these global, seemingly abstract questions were part and parcel of the context in which the working people of Canada cast their vote.

But the most fundamental and far-reaching pressure of all, the thread which ties all these factors together, was the question of the control of the economy and therefore the lives of working people by a tiny corporate class - an economic elite. This was the fundamental social fact, so terrifyingly and thoroughly documented by Professor John Porter, which confronted the average working man who went to the polls.

Within this context, we must analyze the campaign carried by the party. A brief review of the national campaign, the part of the campaign carried by Tommy Douglas and Robert Cliche gives us the general picture. Tommy Douglas crossed the country five times, visiting many areas among them, Hamilton, Toronto, Peterborough, Edmonton, Vancouver, Grand Prairie, Cranbrook, Shaws, Kirkland Lake, Halifax, Montreal, Quebec and many others. Looking at the reports of the speeches made at these meetings, a number of main issues carried by the campaign emerge - competent, honest leadership; medicare; free education, consumers' bill of rights, old age pensions, full employment and the question of minority government.

No one can deny that such goals are necessary and worth fighting for. But the question to ask is - what did the posing of these issues as THE ISSUES mean or not mean to working people? How did they see the Party? Did it give them a perspective for solving the problems confronting them? Did it offer them a perspective of dealing with the power and influence of the corporate elite - the capitalist class?

Some comments by Peter C. Newman, Ottawa editor of the Toronto Daily Star are revealing. In an article entitled "Tommy Douglas Cry Still Wilderness Voice Despite Party Hopes", he describes why he thinks "no army of voters is rising up to follow the NDP colours." He states, "It's three great crusades... medicare, universal pensions and a federal labour code have been adopted by the Liberals. As a result, the NDP has had to retreat to such mundane policy pledges as...the establishment of a department of consumer affairs which would police the amount of soapflakes in Soap flakes boxes. The Party that once dreamed of reforming society has been reduced to becoming some sort of political better business bureau...The NDP now gives the impression not so much of being radical as of being a movement anxious to rescue Canada's beleaguered capitalist system. At the same time the NDP is still led by a man who talks as if he believed that the class struggle remains the main determinant of social action. These are hardly compatible notions and the NDP's campaign has suffered from a resultant air of unreality..." (emphasis added)

I think Mr. Newman states the problem accurately and lucidly. Moreover his prediction was correct, since no army rose up to put the NDP into power. A mere battalion was added.

Our national campaign did talk about the class struggle, but very infrequently. To my knowledge it was only emphasized in a few areas - New Westminster, Cranbrook, B.C., Grand Prairie, Kirkland Lake, Wetburn, Sask.; in English Canada. Reports indicate that the problem of the corporate elite was emphasized in Quebec by Robert Cliche.

But to gain a balanced picture, it is necessary to examine the literature the working man received in his mail slot. What did the literature say? Did it identify with the working man in his struggle with the economic rulers of Canada? his boss? Did it talk about his right to take part in the economic decisions of the country? Did it protest the criminal anti-labour legislation? Did it talk about the corporate elite's war in Vietnam? Did it talk about the role of the individual in an economic democracy? A brief scan of the literature clearly demonstrates that it said nothing of great significance - nothing which could twist the mind of the voter and make him say...Yes! they're right! That's exactly what is wrong! Generally sketchy references to aspects of the party programme and the wonderful virtues of ultra-respectable candidates formed the meat of the campaign literature. Judging from the effort in this direction, this constituted the major part of the campaign.

Take for example, a leaflet produced in Burrard, B.C. It emphasized: "a clear sense of national purpose; what parliament needs is leadership; will give consumer protection; education; an equal chance;". From the Toronto Danforth campaign, we see, "a plan of action leading to democratic economic planning to provide full employment; comprehensive legislation to deal with the growing challenge of automation and cybernation; the outstanding performance of New Democratic members of Parliament." In York South, the issue was: "stature, statesmanship and the integrity of Parliament." Some of the catchy slogans used across the country were - "let's give the old line parties a well deserved rest, this country needs it; "New Democrats make good MP's; and, "fed up! speak up! vote New Democrat!"

Is it possible to say even from these examples that the millions of pieces of literature which were presented to the voter preached a message which could convince him of the necessity to vote NDP? Did the Party say to working people, both farmers and industrial workers, you are in the grip of an economic dictatorship. Give us your vote and together we can take away the power of this dictatorship to transform society and your lives? If the voter happened to catch the relatively few times that Tommy Douglas stressed the class struggle was he moved with the idea that the Party was set to immerse itself in this struggle? The answers to these questions are no.

The Party offered the voter more promises. No understanding. No compelling message. The campaign consisted of bigger promises, promising a bigger dose of "liberal good times" with super human, super brilliant, super honest and super dedicated parliamentarians, who in some undefinable way, were more suited and gifted than the candidates of the capitalist parties to deal with the problems.

This is why the party failed to rally an army to its colours - not as some say because of insufficient funds or inadequate organization. This is why the party failed to "pull them off the street" to the Tommy Douglas rally in Toronto, - not as it has been suggested, because the party refused to advertize in the scab Toronto newspapers. This is why the party failed to generate a mass movement which could carry it on its shoulders to power.

There is a class struggle in this system. Any member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union can tell you this. When Tommy Douglas recently felt compelled to support the call for a B.C. general strike, he expressed this social, political and economic reality. Those planning the campaign strategy failed to respond to this fact and failed to make it and its ramifications in Vietnam and on the picket lines THE ISSUE. They failed to solidly identify with the working people of Canada and failed to say to



them:- This is YOUR party. We are taking YOUR side in the struggle. Instead, they chose the "easy" course, the less controversial and radical course, a course which sidestepped the dominant social, economic and political factors of our society.

It was not merely a question of a good or bad programme. It's my opinion that even with the present programme which does not give realistic and plausible solutions to the class struggle, the identification with the working people and their struggle could have been made - with far, far greater results. The fact that a conscious decision misdirected the campaign is illustrated by the use or lack of use of a pamphlet produced by the Canadian Labour Congress explaining its support for the NDP. The front of the pamphlet sported the unmistakable image of a worker. To the working man, the implication was clear; the working man's party is the NDP! Vote for your party and against your boss's party! This piece of literature, although it was produced in quantity, was rarely distributed. The only conclusion possible is that the campaign organizers consciously decided it would hurt the revered, respectable, responsible appeal-to-all middle class image of the party.

The party was out to offer the voters "a new kind of leadership." Unfortunately, all parties from their inception have been offering, in one form or another, new leadership. The parties have always offered more "good times" or "better times". If the mass of voters is fed up with anything, and they are, it is this level of politics, these kind of promises. When a truck driver says "the whole country is in a hell of a mess" he does not mean he is interested in someone who says: It is I and no one else who can clean up this mess. His political experience has taught him the meaninglessness and hypocrisy of such declarations. He expresses this experience when he says: "All politicians are the same." He rejects that kind of politics. He wants to know what the mess is all about, how it got there, who has the solutions and who is willing to get into the mess with him and eliminate it.

This is the opportunity the party missed. The party refused to campaign in the context of its real character - the party of the working people - a labour party. As a result, it represented the same "old crap" to the majority of the working population. Those that supported the party either thought they would gamble and give it a chance or in some way underplayed the true character of the party despite its election camouflage.

The opportunity was there to offer an alternative. The approach to the campaign by the campaign strategists threw this out the window. By not presenting a clear class alternative, they laid a fertile base for the acceptance of the arguments concerning majority government, the dangerous split vote, and wasted votes. Despite this, the election results indicate the working people did not thoroughly accept these phony positions. This coupled with the increase in our popular strength - by-in-large, a large class conscious increase, is an indication of the possibilities still before us.

The lesson to be learned for the next election is that we must not fail to recognize, as the core of the campaign, the fundamental social fact of our time - the class structure of society, and offer working people an alternative based on class identification. In this way only can a meaningful victory be assured.

## AREA ELECTION REPORTS

British Columbia

- Sheila Turgeon

The November 8th election was a victory for the B.C. section of the N.D.P. The downward trend of support, visible in the previous two elections, was reversed. Membership, and the number of active supporters increased. We took 33% of the popular vote, compared to 31% in the 1963 election.

Because of local strikes, the recent Teach-In and Vietnam demonstrations, the

candidates were compelled to deal with issues that made the class basis of the party clear. However, no candidate seriously raised the Vietnam issue. The NDP clearly tried to avoid this question.

Nationalization was made an issue twice. In the first instance, MLA's, A. Turner and A. MacDonald called for nationalization of the brewing monopolies, which refused to negotiate with the striking brewery workers. Later Robert Strachan said an NDP government would nationalize the B.C. and Bell telephone companies.

The Oil Workers strike prompted Grace McGinnes to come out strongly in defence of the workers. She called attention to the issue of automation and to the large and increasing profits of the oil industry.

Several candidates spoke on the need for Civil Servants to have full trade union rights, including the right to strike. This demand was inspired by the recent postal workers strike.

Although the NDP tried to avoid the issue of Vietnam, it was raised during the question period of almost all meetings. As a result, Vietnam was an issue throughout the campaign. The strongest opposition to the American intervention was presented by M.J. Coldwell and T.C. Douglas. While most campaign leaflets made the candidate the "star", and the party unimportant, the Burnaby-Richmond committee printed a leaflet dealing with automation and urging workers to support the labour-backed party. The leaflet posed the shorter work week as the major answer to automation. The leaflets were distributed to workers of the plants in the area. The press of the official labour movement also, whole-heartedly supported the NDP as never before.

The issues raised here, and the increase in the party's vote in B.C. show that it is not necessary to concentrate on "safe" issues and personalities. The NDP won votes after it dealt with basic class issues.

Through the Socialist Caucus we can work to make these basic needs the issues - purposely, not by chance. Socialists in the NDP must organize now to take advantage of the growth of the NDP and the better election statements to push the NDP into taking a hard consistent position on the basic issues, e.g. nationalization; the 30-hour work week for 40 hours pay and the need for a clear trade union party. To make this programme meaningful and to build the NDP as a labour party, concerted, educational activity is required now. Continuing involvement of rank and file trade unionists as well as other NDP supporters can be assured, if such an educational campaign is begun now.

Toronto Report

Irma Orchard  
Diane Palm

"I'm a small 'L' liberal." "I'm not much for socialism." this statement coming from York West candidate Martha Brewin, seems to epitomize the dominant characteristic of the New Democratic party campaign here in Toronto - a campaign that was saturated with glib platitudes about "New Canadas" catchphrases like "the Liberals and Conservatives are satisfied that Parkdale will remain an old party seat. Let's surprise them." respectable coffee parties, and watered-down issues. In total, the campaign was a masquerade for the New Democratic Party's traditions and principles.

The significance of an election campaign cannot be underestimated, for it is strongly indicative of the political atmosphere prevalent in the party's everyday functions and it is this atmosphere which is manifested in the face the party presents to the electorate.

What kind of political posture did the party take in this campaign? A further look at the campaign literature in the Toronto area gives ample illustration.

A number of themes are prominent - the image building technique and the following platform plans - free education, full employment, higher pensions, medicare that works.

Our criticism is not that these issues were raised but the way they were raised. The literature doesn't give a full explanation of how the NDP could implement these platform planks, and this the electorate demands. It did not attempt to point out how the NDP in power could assure the working man the fruits of his labour. In addition to generally inadequate explanation of party programme, some issues were totally ignored like the vital issue of peace and war - specifically the war in Vietnam.

All the skirting and omission of issues was glorified and enshrined in the New Democrat editorial entitled "Leadership is the only issue." This slogan epitomized the Toronto campaign with the "stature and statemanship" of York South taking second place. The emphasis is clearly placed on the candidate's personality. The danger in running this kind of campaign is that without a known personality, the NDP is without a committed vote and you could question how committed that kind of vote would be.

This was demonstrated in Port Arthur. With the retirement of Douglas Fisher, the NDP's decisive strength was dissipated and the seat was lost.

The conclusion is clear. The party cannot stand on the attractiveness of its candidates. It must win or lose on the basis of its platform projected in a principled manner, dealing unhesitatingly with the bread-and-butter, life-and-death issues. This is what reaches the pulse of the electorate. Not the smile on the candidates face.

It is clear that the Toronto area campaign was grossly opportunistic. This trend was evident in the failure to deal boldly with the Toronto Typographical strike and the general failure to argue the case for a planned economy to solve the problems from automation.

We wonder if the party is no longer capable of producing people like J.S. Woodsworth who played a significant role in the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. It is terrifying to think that all we may have left is a polished election machine.

However, this well-oiled machine can be put to advantage. Party rank and filers must give this machine the political material it can use so well. Thirty percent of the vote is not adequate in a highly industrialized area like Toronto, the political centre of English Canada. Those working people who voted NDP did so despite the character of the campaign which failed to blur their vision of and understanding of party tradition. Those that rejected the party can still be reached - if the party learns to deal with the real issues confronting working people, in this way offering them a solid alternative. This, plus a good machine is the only road to a "New Canada."

South Western Ontario

-

George Addison

The returns of the November 6th Federal Election indicate that considerable segments of the working class vote in western Ontario are shifting to the NDP. In fact, the NDP was the only party to make real gains in terms of popular support, notably in the Guelph-Galt-Kitchener triangle and in the industrial east end of London.

In assessing these gains, it is necessary for socialists to look beyond merely the calibre of the candidate and his organization, and examine the roots of this class-conscious display by the working people. Certainly the candidates and organizations are important, but even the most able candidates and the best organizations cannot make a social movement.

Perhaps the most startling gain in the area was in Middlesex East where the NDP more than doubled its popular vote. This constituency has traditionally elected Tories even though the vast majority of its inhabitants are employees or retired employees of the plants and shops of industrial east London. The most predominant labour force is the United Auto Workers, in such plants as G.M. Diesel, Eaton Automotive, Kelvinator, and 3M. After the experiences of last winter when Wolverine Tube successfully broke a UAW strike and managed to have that union decertified mainly through the use of court injunctions, organized labour in London realized that only by political action -- by



supporting labour candidates, could they prevent strikebreaking injunctions, and unjust labour legislation. As a result of this, two labour representatives were elected as city aldermen, and more than 28% of the voters in Middlesex East voted New Democrat.

Certainly Archdeacon Kenneth Bolton was an attractive, popular, and respectable candidate, and his organization was indeed formidable. But the 500-odd election workers knew what they were campaigning for, and the working people of Middlesex East knew what they were voting for; and that is a labour party that can alone represent their interests. Let the Madison Avenue "image makers" whose influence was generally dominant through much of the campaign remember this fact when they attempt to win elections and take power through glorified "personality contests".

The NDP - Canada's Labour party - will win power in this country when it remembers its class base; when it realizes that the people who will elect it are not idiots to be swayed with advertising tricks and promises, but rather are potentially a class-conscious majority who will vote for that party and programme which really represent them.

Ottawa

Gary Porter

The November 8th election is over, and Ottawa New Democrats are undergoing mixed feelings of elation and depression. This campaign was fought harder than any before it by New Democrats here. More canvassing was done, more distributions carried on (at union meetings, all party rallies, etc.) more signs were posted, and more advertisement, (e.g. signs on OTC buses, radio and T.V. ads) and more enthusiasm engendered here than Ottawa New Democrats had ever seen. Hard work and a spirit of camaraderie pervaded everywhere.

The capitalist parties had totally discredited themselves. The Lib-Cons. were supporting Johnson's dirty war against the heroic people of Vietnam, they had failed to provide answers to automation and resulting unemployment, to the unresolved status of the restless French Canadian nation. The cost of living was soaring, and even the elementary social benefits of medicare, adequate unemployment insurance, and adequate old-age pensions remained unavailable to Canadian workers. In Ottawa, New Democrats felt rightly that this was our chance, only we could solve these great problems. Reports came from federal office and thence to the Ottawa party of a great campaign which New Democrats everywhere were mounting. An assault on the capitalist parties was being waged. We would win seats in the Maritimes, Quebec, pick up seats in Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan and gain even more seats in B.C.

Despite these predictions, the supporters of the New Democratic Party Socialist Caucus, were worried by the reports of the speeches of the leadership and some of the Ottawa candidates and by the lack of programmatic answers to the problems facing Canadian workers in party literature. One instance occurred on Oct. 27, National Students' Day. A march of 500-600 university students occurred on Parliament Hill. They wanted free education. Spokesmen for the capitalist parties hedged and evaded the issue, of course, and an unmistakable expectancy passed over the whole crowd when the NDP spokesman, Rev. D. Stirling, candidate in Carleton, rose. His speech was very polished, an artful production. BUT, although free education is written into the party platform, he never mentioned it. When he turned away from the podium, even non-NDP students were caught off guard, not quite believing that he could really be finished.

An exception to this general trend was Russel Riding. The candidate was Harold Wilson, a teacher at E.O.I.T. In this riding, a campaign committee and a programme were drawn up and passed at a riding association meeting called shortly after the election was announced, an unparalleled example in Ottawa of rank and file control. The candidate was a long time active New Democrat, no business man or johnny come lately. He emphasized union rights for civil servants including the right to strike. He devoted a whole speech at one inter-party debate to the war in Vietnam. He answered questions from the audience as factually and programmatically as he could. His forthrightness brought more than one favorable comment from workers that I canvassed in the riding.

Previous to the election, the riding association had worked out an agreement to give the Ottawa YND a free hand in Heron Park, an area in the riding. This was passed by both Russell Riding Association and the Youth, with the candidate defending youth autonomy consistently.

Now the results are in. We won only 21 seats, a gain of only 3 seats. We lost Port Arthur, we got no seats in the Maritimes, Quebec or Saskatchewan, as the leadership was predicting we would. But in Ottawa, Wilson more than doubled his vote from 3500 to nearly 8000. He had a higher percentage of the voters supporting the NDP in his riding than did any other candidate. Surely the lesson here is obvious.

Socialists throughout the party must raise the questions, Why did we not do better? What went wrong? Where is the source of the trouble? and urge New Democrats everywhere to seek out the trouble and correct it. We, in Ottawa, have a clear example before us. One candidate acted more like a socialist than did the others. He defended the workers' interests essentially. He did better than the others. It's that simple. The old questions of a socialist programme and a socialist leadership dedicated to such a program now take on an urgent importance.

The party must take the time to examine carefully, its campaign and the results. Mistakes must be recognized and corrected. We must not be lulled into thinking that a gain is as good as a victory or that power was not achieved because it was not possible. Socialists in the party must raise their questions and put forward their answers convincingly if victory is to become a reality and not just a dream or a mathematical possibility.

Kingston

Jeff White

In Kingston Riding, where Revenue Minister E.J. Benson was returned to Ottawa on a plurality, the election showed a marked gain for the New Democrats. With a lower voting turnout than in 1963, the Liberals and Conservatives both lost votes numerically, while the New Democrats made an absolute gain of 50% over last time. The press, radio and TV on election night gave remarkably good publicity to this fact, and the NDP is now seen to be in a jumping-off position for the next election.

Polling 11.5% of the vote, our candidate, John Meister, who was not nominated until Oct. 16, attributed his 1,210-vote increase to "middle-class" support, even though there is a large unionized working class in Kingston, and Meister, himself, is a chief steward in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union.

The brief campaign was run on a predictably low political level, concentrating mainly on "national unity" and incentive-planning. Our policy on Vietnam was seldom mentioned, and we failed to expose Benson's role as strikebreaker in the recent postal workers' strike.

In fact, labour issues were played down in the campaign; this, I think, was our biggest error. By identifying ourselves with the strike issues of the last few years in this area, and promising the elimination of anti-labour laws now on the books, we could have gained a larger portion of the working class vote. The election was lost long before Nov. 8.

This, of course, points to a general failing on the part of our Party to identify itself unequivocally on the side of labour; the NDP must let every working man and woman in this country know that it is Canada's labour party, and that it intends to defend the interests of labour against those of the business barons.

It also points to a particular example of a general failure on the part of NDP riding associations in many areas across the country to identify with the labour struggles in their area. This does not merely mean putting one or two union officials on the riding executive; it means marching in picket lines, handing out leaflets, and making coffee for the pickets.

The Kingston NDP Association has a long road ahead of it to consolidate its gains and lay the groundwork for the next election. This will require more public involvement in local labour disputes, more general riding meetings and educationals, and more active membership participation in the functioning of the riding association.

Meister's gain is a milestone for the NDP in Kingston. It is also an experience from which, hopefully, we will learn many new lessons.

### A LOOK AT THE ELECTION RESULTS

by Larry Walker, Toronto.

The Nov. 8 election results have raised a number of questions in the NDP. Was a gain of three seats over our 1963 total, a success or a defeat? Our share of the popular vote rose from 13% to 18%, an increase of only 5%, despite the calculations of the pollsters who claimed 35% of the voters were undecided.

I think if we are honest, we will consider the results somewhat of a defeat despite the significant gains and seriously think about the weaknesses of the campaign. Generally, there was no attempt to present ourselves as a clear-cut alternative. Instead, we played the old political game of one-upmanship glossing over many of the principled positions we hold. As an editorial in one of the local newspapers put it "for most voters, the NDP was but one of the political parties with a platform of 'anything you can do, we can do better'". For example - how many working people could discern any difference between the Gordon development corporation and the NDP Canadian development fund, or the vague generalities about economic planning and the Liberal promise of restricting American investment?

Our opportunities were great because of widespread dissatisfaction with the capitalist parties, dissolution with the platitudes of the spokesmen of the economic elite and, as indicated by the recent strike wave, a rising resentment against the economic make-up of our society. The election results tell us we missed these opportunities.

But there is an encouraging side to this. Despite the fumbblings of the party leadership, the party gained in almost every industrial area of Canada. In the Nickel Belt, York South, Sudbury, the Hamilton ridings, South and North Centre Winnipeg and on through to the Vancouver area, we either won or increased our margin of victory. In Quebec, the party election planners emphasized our possibilities in the rural districts. Unfortunately, the vote was low here, but as in the rest of Canada the greatest gains were in the industrial centres. In Montreal Mount Royal, the NDP ran second to the vaunted reformist, Pierre Trudeau, getting 43% of the total vote. Across Quebec, the NDP vote rose to 13%.

In Manitoba, our percentage rose to 25% - only 1% less than Saskatchewan and in British Columbia, the popular vote rose to 37%. These percentage increases in the popular vote can only be a reflection of the working man's increasing identification with the NDP. Despite our middle-of-the-road campaign strategy, the working man's situation is forcing him to see the NDP as his party.



The significance of these increases is also shown when you consider the number of seats they would mean on the basis of representational seating - about 41 seats. Elections under redistribution would also mean a greater number of seats. However, this also goes to show that neither representational seating nor redistribution is the answer to the problem of how to win an NDP government.

In facing this problem, we are going to have to decide if the chance to form the government lies with an identification with the struggles of the mass of Canadian working people or with the vague generalities and middle-class respectability of our present approach.

G.D.H. Cole, a prominent member of the British Labour Party, published a tract which is pertinent to our own situation. He says, "What is the use of winning an election except as a means to an end? To win an election without a policy is the surest way of losing the next and of spreading dismay and disillusionment among our supporters. If the end is no longer socialism, but something else - what else? If it is still socialism, let us tell the electors frankly how we propose to advance towards it."

Only a party which clearly identifies with working people can rally their full support behind it. A party of the working people must have a program which reflects the needs of working people and presents to them a clear alternative. The results of this election show us that, not only is it possible for us to be successful with this principled approach but that there is no other way for the NDP to form the government and bring about a Socialist Canada.

#### ----- VIET NAM AND THE CAMPAIGN

by David Middleton, Toronto.

Hidden away in the births and deaths pages of the Toronto Star is a statement by a retired Canadian officer who during his service had been a member of the International Control Commission on Viet Nam. He is quoted as saying he was:

"bloody ashamed of some of the things I was required to do, like pretending I didn't see a flight of United States helicopters overhead, or American warships in the harbour."

Our record in Viet Nam under both Conservative and Liberal administrations has been one of lies and treachery. Our members on the International Control Commission used their position to obscure the American build-up for a major war in Viet Nam. The Pearson government has increased direct financial aid to the Saigon government and Canadian factories have supplied ever-increasing quantities of war material to the American forces even as Canadian diplomats attempted to present themselves as objective middlemen in the United Nations and in other world forums.

Our communications media have played an integral part in the propaganda plan meant to make the war acceptable to Canadians and others. The liberation forces in Viet Nam have been presented as a sinister force composed of "Viet Cong" or "Communists" or any other combination of words which would obscure the fact that they are simply the people of Viet Nam fighting a foreign aggressor.

Our propaganda has consistently presented a concept of the leaders of the liberation forces as being supremely confident that victory was inevitably on their side, thinking that their enemy was some sort of paper tiger. These leaders were supposed to be blind to the reality of American military power. Eighty ton tanks, thousand

pound bombs and searing napalm supposedly held no terror for them. They were intransigent in the face of all attempts to "lure" them to the peace table.

Anyone with even a superficial knowledge of the battlefield would know that this picture of the liberation forces and their leaders is unreal. Certain essentials of war are unchangeable - victory favours the big armies and life on a field of battle is hell. The Americans have concentrated in Viet Nam the military might of the world's most advanced industrial nation. Their weaponry ranges from the simplest rifles and grenades up to the bombers of their strategic air command - planes capable of massive air strikes in excess of anything delivered in World War Two. And all this power is being used without the slightest regard to the conventions of war.

The Vietnamese know what they are up against. Recent disclosures by the Secretary General of the United Nations reveal a people who are far from supremely confident of victory and loathe to talk of peace. Rather what emerges is the desperate condition of a nation being ravaged from end to end with relative impunity to the aggressor and with all cries for quarter being ignored.

And what have we done? The actions of our big business parties are predictable. Their interests are a matter of record. But what of we in the New Democratic Party. Read our campaign literature, study our party newspapers published during the campaign, examine the pamphlets of your local candidate. Did any of these pose the conduct of our government on Viet Nam as an issue in this election? Did any of them even mention the war?

During the final rally of the party in Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto, Mr. Douglas carefully avoided all mention of Viet Nam. It was only when challenged by members of the audience that he weakly stated his position on the war. His position was clear, he is against the war, but he did not consider that it was an issue in the campaign and he was obviously not prepared to make it one.

Based on the resolutions passed at our last federal convention, the members of the New Democratic Party are opposed to the American war in Viet Nam. Mr. Douglas has shown that he not only personally shares this view but in a speech given in the House of Commons on Friday, May 28, of this year, he made it plain that he is fully aware of the duplicity of the Canadian government. Then why the reticence on the part of our leaders and candidates to interject the war in Viet Nam as an issue in this past election.

Not having access to personal debate on this question, my statements from here on must be in the nature of conjecture. I reject the concept that the views of the party leadership are widely divergent from that of the membership at large. I think that not only Mr. Douglas, but most leading members are well informed of the situation in Viet Nam and are repelled by the injustice and suffering involved. Accepting this, then their failure to make the war a campaign issue can only be explained by their concept of good election strategy.

Good election strategy is bound to dominate our thinking as we come closer to parliamentary power. Carried to extremes our concern for good election strategy could turn us away from principle and convert our party into an electoral machine. We could conceivably cast aside enough principles that the delineation between ourselves and the other party machines could blur and someday a confused electorate could place us in power, not knowing exactly what we stood for and not much caring. But surely we care...

If electoral office is what we want as individuals, then the liberal and conservative machines have always been open to us. If parliamentary power is the sole aim of our party then let us cast away our programme wholesale. But this is not the case. We rejected the old line parties and we formed the New Democratic Party to give us a vehicle wherein we could fight for power on a programme of our own choosing - a programme that meets the real needs of real people everywhere.

If we accept the moral basis which justified the launching of our party as a real alternative to the parties of big business then we cannot let principle be discarded for electoral expediency. We must decide what are the issues and we must interject them into the political fray regardless of the efforts of the old line parties with their control of the mass media to exclude them.

Viet Nam should have been an issue in this election campaign. It should have been an issue not only on moral grounds, but also on grounds of pure self-interest. We cannot materially change our society until the vast drain of our energy and wealth into armaments has been stopped. We cannot give the type of leadership necessary to bring about a world free of war and its insatiable demands until we have an electorate which demands such a world. To achieve this we must begin our next electoral campaign now, and we must include as the issues the real problems of people, and foremost amongst these is the immediate need of the people of Viet Nam for peace.

The best strategy in the long run is one which allows us to fight for our programme every day of the year. This must be based on an unswerving adherence to principle. Let us never again allow them to say they could not tell us apart.

#### NEWS AND COMMENT

#### TOMMY DOUGLAS AND THE B.C. GENERAL STRIKE

The Editors

A few days before the general strike deadline set by the B.C. Federation of Labour in sympathy with the striking members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union, the Canadian press reported that Tommy Douglas came out in support of the strike. The implications of this action for the party are considerable.

The struggle of the oil workers is essentially over the question of the introduction of automated equipment. Only a small number of workers were involved but as with the typographical workers in Toronto, the entire Canadian work force was implicated.

Automation is just on the verge of totally revolutionizing North American industry. The social implications of the unemployment in a largely automated society are staggering. The party recognizes this and devoted a section of its programme to the question, although in an inadequate manner.

However, the party programme is only one side of the question. Passing resolutions dealing with the problems of workers must be concretized by taking part in the struggles of the workers. These struggles are most sharply focused on the picket lines.

In taking a stand with the B.C. workers, the NDP had to pit itself against the corporate elite. Editorials across the country, speaking for this class, viciously attacked the B.C. Federation of Labour with grave rumblings about the consequences. Implicitly, the NDP also came within the range of these attacks.

The class struggle is no game. It is brutal and involves the welfare of millions of working people. By supporting the proposed general strike, the party dramatically jumped down from the colourless middle ground it held during the election campaign and unequivocally took sides in this struggle. Unfortunately, such examples are few and far between. It will be necessary for such stands to become a part of the daily life of the NDP. This is an identification with the working people where it counts most.



The workers of British Columbia will not forget it. Actions like this, which significantly aid the struggles of workers go a long way to building the kind of class-conscious base so necessary for the success of the party.

#### DISCUSSION IN THE SASKATCHEWAN NDP

Stu Sinclair

Bulletin readers who do not regularly read the Saskatchewan Commonwealth will be interested in a debate currently taking place in the "For the Sake of Discussion" column. Ontario readers will probably note the contrast between the openness of this discussion in the Commonwealth and the total lack of it in the Ontario New Democrat.

The present discussion opened last summer with an article by Newton Reid in which he stated that the party was not theoretically or programmatically equipped to deal with automation, that too many vital policy decisions were being made by executive bodies and that party conventions were becoming pep rallies rather than real decision making bodies where the grass roots could participate critically and with careful thought.

In September, a major article "Is Youth Inhibited?" by Jim Harding, the Saskatchewan president of the YND appeared. Mr. Harding sharply attacked the growing conservatism of the NDP and the lack of independence for the youth. In pointing out the consequences of this conservatism, he referred to the recent surge in radicalism among youth over solidarity with the Selma Freedom struggle which completely bypassed the YND.

A full debate followed with Dr. B.K. Johnpoll, who launched his rebuttal by virtually equating Mr. Harding's criticisms with advocacy of the Russian political system. He developed this theme with a comparison of the growth of parliamentary institutions in the advanced western countries with the post 1919 trend to political dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

The November 17th issue of the Commonwealth contains the latest phase of this discussion which is probably one of the most far-reaching criticisms of the party, its programme, direction and leadership ever to appear in an official party organ. Mr. Harding, the author, attempts to analyze the role of the party in the recent elections and its general direction over the past few years. A few quotations will illustrate the tone of the article.

On the NDP's election tactics, he says, "One major danger present in North America is the increasingly sophisticated method of manipulation ..." "The NDP, by using essentially the same ambiguous 'push' technique has, in effect, reinforced, not challenged this trend ..." On programme and policy, he berates the party for its narrow welfare-statism which fails to deal with the major problems confronting Canadian society. In making this point he says, "by itself welfare legislation could reinforce the dominant trend in North American society toward the manipulation of mass society." Attacking the whole foundation of the party's reformism, he asks, "Does anyone really believe that welfare is a threat to a corporate society that has power and control over abundant resources?" On the question of the party leadership's failure to adequately raise foreign policy issues, he complains, "We keep saying we are a party of principle, ... "but we have not talked to Canadians about the atrocities in Vietnam ..." He then continues by condemning the lack of control by party rank and file over its own election campaigns stating, "The fact is our campaigns are shaping our party and the average member has little to say in this process."

Mr. Harding then ends his article on a rather alarming note. He seems to seriously consider following the lead of Bertrand Russell who recently tore up his British Labour Party card over that party's Vietnam policy.

This whole debate is refreshing to NDPers outside the prairie provinces who are used to receiving only the official policy line in the party publications. Discussion of this sort should be carried consistently throughout the party at this crucial period in the party's development. The British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec publications would do well to examine the editorial policy of the Commonwealth.

# DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LEFT WING OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH - Lyle Severin

All over North America, youth are becoming radical. Nothing like it has been since the 1930's. Much of the radicalism has been centered around opposition to the Vietnam war, The Negro freedom struggle and the question of civil liberties. This radicalism has been reflected in the formation of radical youth groups, the various teach-ins, sit-ins and mass demonstrations.

In Canada, the New Democratic youth have also experienced the fresh wind of radicalism. This has been manifested in a Three-year discussion in the YND of how to build a mass radical youth movement. The chief political positions put forward in the debate have been socialist and left-liberal.

The growth of the YND since the NDP founding convention has been minimal. This has spawned a critical approach to the present state of the YND and the development of an intense and far-reaching debate. Most of the discussion over the past year has been documented in the Quebec YND publication Identity which has a national circulation.

The YND federal convention this past summer saw the formation of a left caucus which succeeded in electing four members to the federal executive. This was not a majority. Since then, the dominant question of how to build the organization seems to have been put off at least for a period since the right-wing seems to be afflicted with a lack of political courage and just plain political energy.

The socialist opposition has not been content to wait two years for another try. The necessity to build the youth is too pressing. Last fall, the left gained a majority on the Alberta executive. Saskatchewan, with the largest membership at 700, has hired a full-time organizer and has begun to build sustaining clubs on a political basis. In Ontario, where the sharpest debates have occurred, the Left Caucus, which contains two-thirds of the active Ontario YNDers is preparing to take the leadership of the Ontario section at the Spring convention.

In comparison with the party, the left in the youth is strong. The current debates, being waged, are on a high political level. With a realistic perspective of a socialist programme and leadership, the future of the YND, as a mass radical youth movement look good.

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READ:

IDENTITY: A JOURNAL FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSION WITHIN  
THE NDY, published by the QUEBEC FEDERATION  
OF NEW DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS

3920 rue St. Hubert, Montreal 24, Quebec.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? The debate in the New Democratic Youth

Order from Lyle Severin, 35 Heyden Park Rd.,  
Toronto, Ontario.

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## SURVEY SUPPORTS SOCIALIST POSITION

Socialists in the NDP have continually stressed the need for a program calling for government ownership of the basic industries. They have pointed out that without this step the economic democracy visualized by the party cannot be realized. They have warned that the pressures of the capitalist system will bring people to Socialist conclusions and that it is the party's job to give leadership to this demand to fundamentally reorganize the economy.

A recent survey published in the business section of the November 19 Globe and Mail supports the position of the socialists and demonstrates that the reformist "save capitalism" program of the party goes against the developing socialist consciousness of Canadian working people.

The conclusions from this survey under the heading "SURVEY INDICATES SOCIALIST TREND - MORE WANT GOVERNMENT TO OWN, MANAGE INDUSTRY", are summarized in the report which states: "More Canadians than ever indicate that the government should own and manage this country's industries, a nation wide study of public attitudes reveals.

The study undertaken by Elliott Research Corporation for a group of Canadian companies finds that a socialist trend in Canadian public opinion has grown significantly in the past year.

To determine Canadian's attitudes on public vs. private industrial ownership, Elliot researchers questioned more than 5,000 persons from all types of economic and social backgrounds. The survey - double the size of a normal opinion poll - has been conducted yearly since 1944 to ascertain any changes in the public's view on who should control a dozen basic Canadian industries.

The company's researchers this year found that public support for private ownership of industry has dropped to 60.7% from last years 63.1% and from a peak of 68.6% in 1954.

At the same time the number of persons favoring government ownership of industry has risen from 22.8% in 1964 to 24.5% this year - the highest level since 1947.

According to the study, the 1965 trend indicates a loss of confidence in private industry and reflects a significant reversal of a 1964 move toward stronger support for private ownership of business and industry.

In 1965, the study reports, every one of the dozen basic industries lost some measure of support from private ownership advocates. For example, the automotive industry,, perennially the most popular free-enterprize undertaking, received only a 75.1% endorsement on private control this year, compared with 79% last year.

Similarly the second ranked gas and oil industry whose private operations were approved by 77% of respondents in 1964, drew only 72% this year. . ."

Regionally Elliott says, private industry this year lost support in every province but Ontario and Alberta. It says Socialist opinions are most evident among rural respondents, low income groups, young persons and members of the New Democratic and Social Credit parties.

"Private industry's drop in popularity can be attributed to many things, including strikes, lay-offs, gas wars and government's growing encroachment on business areas," J. M. Leckie, Elliott's president said. "The survey results indicate that industry's public relations departments have a job to do when it comes to selling the free enterprise system."



## TOMMY DOUGLAS ON VIETNAM

The following is a reprint of a speech given by Tommy Douglas to the House of Commons on Friday, May 28, 1965. This speech was the New Democratic Party's contribution to a debate in which all the political parties gave their views on the War in Vietnam and the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Although it is possible for us disagree with aspects of the speech, we feel in general it is the clearest and most correct explanation on these momentous events given by any political leader in Canada. It correctly characterizes the movement of the Vietnamese people as a struggle for economic and political self-determination and the intervention of the United States as a disguised attempt to crush and contain this struggle for freedom.

The speech directly contradicts the millions of lines of propaganda fed daily to the populations of the Americas and Western Europe and represents an opportunity to break through the control of the mass media by the forces of war to reach the people, who, through their united strength, have the power to stop these actions which can lead directly to nuclear war.

However, now, after the election campaign, we are forced to ask: What happened to this speech? Where was it during the campaign? Where was it these past seven months as the United States with the complicity of the Canadian government continued to expand its military intervention to monstrous proportions? To our knowledge, the only mass circulation publication which carried excerpts from the speech, was the *scab* Globe and Mail early in June. To our knowledge, then, for all intents and purposes, the speech has remained filed away in Hansard hidden from the view of those who must read it.

Think of the impact this speech could have had on the Canadian population! Think of the opposition to the war which could have been generated if the Truth had been made known. Proof of this are the American campuses where facilities exist for circulation of the truth. And think of the opposition which could have been concretized in the ballot if, with our considerable resources, the truth had been placed forcefully before the electorate!

It is clear that political opportunism prevented the party from meeting its responsibilities and obligations - responsibilities and obligations which not only involve the lives of millions of Vietnamese but the entire human race.

Because the party has failed in its obligations to circulate by every means possible (pamphlets, tapes, TV, radio, etc.) the May 28th speech, the Socialist Caucus is publishing here in full, this significant contribution to the struggle against the war. However, our resources are limited. The party, as a whole, can do much more. It is our hope that the leaders of this party will in the bloody light of the increasing slaughter reconsider and boldly take the action that is required.

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For more copies of this speech -

Write to - NDP Socialist Caucus

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# **NDP**      **SOCIALIST** **CAUCUS** **BULLETIN**

NO. 3

JAN. '66

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## NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN - NUMBER THREE

This third NDP Socialist Caucus Bulletin is smaller than Bulletins 1 and 2. Because of the cost and the practical and technical difficulties of producing large bulletins, we will produce a shorter bulletin more frequently. We hope this will eliminate some of our technical difficulties, and will at the same time make the Bulletin more effective especially for immediacy of content.

A new feature in this issue is a column with letters to the editor. We had hoped to have this before, but now since we are receiving letters this is possible. Readers who are not inclined to contribute articles and reports are encouraged to contribute to the letters column.

Financially the Bulletin has kept afloat. Costs of the last Bulletin were met with none to spare. Donations are needed for this issue.

The circulation of the Bulletin is growing through the efforts of readers who have sent in names of interested New Democrats. More names are needed, and we request that you send these in immediately when you have them.

SEND NAMES, ARTICLES, NEWS ITEMS, LETTERS, DONATIONS TO  
NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN P.O. BOX 874 TORONTO, ONTARIO  
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### OTHER NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS PUBLICATIONS

1. Federal NDP Socialist Caucus program.
2. Reprint of attack on the Caucus by the New Democrat.
3. Reply to the New Democrat.
4. Statement by Dave Middleton on his action at the federal convention.
5. Federal Election Newsletter.
6. May 28 Vietnam speech by T. C. Douglas to the House of Commons.

For copies of these publications write to the Bulletin address stating the number of copies you wish - contributions appreciated.



By John Steele, Toronto

The new year is young - now only a month old. In comparison the NDP Socialist Caucus Bulletin is much older - one half year to be exact. Within this time two issues have been produced and circulated to Party members across the country.

The start of a year is the logical time for evaluating achievements and failings, as the case may be, and the work of the Caucus should be no exception.

I think it is accurate to say that the Caucus and the Bulletin are now integral parts of the New Democratic Party. Though the circulation of the Bulletin is still numerically small, amounting to just under one per cent of the membership, it reaches through its geographical distribution into most sections of the Party (except the Maritimes). It has its strength in the Party strongholds of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario.

Throughout these six months the Bulletin has received an increasing number of letters, donations, and literary contributions, sufficient to maintain frequent publication on a solvent financial basis. The good response to the second issue appears to indicate that this trend will continue.

The reports from British Columbia are encouraging. Evidently a number of Vancouver New Democrats who receive the Bulletin are now setting out to put the Caucus into motion with meetings, discussions and socials, in preparation for the B.C. provincial convention in April. Confronted with the burning question of Vietnam, the B.C. socialists are attempting to induce the Party to meet its responsibilities there.

Ontario socialists are faced with a Party convention in October. Though preparations have not yet moved into full steam, socialists in the Ontario Party must begin to prepare to place their views before it in October. This means working out a thoroughly documented, rounded socialist program for the Ontario NDP, and discussing such strategy and tactics as can most effectively present the case for an end to the reformist direction of the Party.

The Bulletin and the Caucus are taking root. The Bulletin is beginning to fulfil the perspective outlined for last July. It is becoming a means of communication and discussion for Party socialists, giving them a sense of cohesion and strength, and stimulating them to organize and develop their forces in their local situations.

At this time, if we were to ask ourselves what is the most pressing issue before the Caucus and the Party, I think there would be little disagreement on the answer - it is Vietnam. It is no exaggeration to say that the world is rapidly moving toward a crisis which could see the destruction of the human race. And it is no exaggeration to say that every individual, executive, council, riding association, and leader in the Party has the responsibility to do what can be done within the framework of the immediate situation and his personal sphere, to mobilize people against the United States action in Vietnam.

The last Bulletin published the speech on Vietnam made by Tommy Douglas last May in the House of Commons. Since then, the Party has done nothing to bring opposition to the war sharply before the public, with the exception perhaps of what appeared to be a weak statement issued to the press on January 17. That statement failed to underscore and expose Canada's present involvement. An only slightly bolder probe was made by T. C. Douglas in the House of Commons on January 20 concerning a U.S. request for Canadian troops.

With this in mind, it is important to note the response to the reproduction of the Douglas speech. A number of Bulletin readers have expressed gratification for this action. Others have requested more copies of the speech. We can assume that these readers are all, in their own way, attempting to get the Party to take the lead in mobilizing opposition to the war and against Canada's participation in it.

This issue reports on planned actions in the Toronto area. We assume that others are considering similar actions elsewhere. But in view of the immensely powerful military, political, and economic machine waging the Vietnam War, these efforts have only a minimal, though not insignificant, impact.

The Party has resources, over a million supporters and enough policy ingredients to generate the greatest anti-Vietnam War movement seen yet. Coupled with the efforts of the protest movement in the U.S., it can dramatically and significantly contribute to changing the course of history from war and barbarism to peace and social progress.

Let the realization of the Party's potential as an anti-war force, and our enormous responsibility to utilize this power in every way possible, stand as an appeal to the New Democrats who read this Bulletin, to New Democrats throughout the Party, and above all to the leadership of this Party. The leadership must devote as much time, energy and effort as is physically possible to the struggle against the war.

CANADA SUPPORTS U.S. POLICY IN VIETNAM - IT MUST NOW WITHDRAW THIS SUPPORT. IT MUST NOW CONDEMN U.S. POLICY. CANADA IS MATERIALLY AIDING THIS WAR - IT MUST NOW STOP THIS AID.

The situation demands that every member of this Party, from the ranks to the leadership, take an initiative in this life and death struggle.

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NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS FINANCIAL STATEMENT AS AT JANUARY 22, 1966

<u>Income</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Cash on hand as at Nov. 26	21.41	Bulletin No. 2	75.35
Donations from Nov. 26	78.00	(850 copies)	
		Stamps and supplies	21.57
		Cash on hand as at Jan. 22	2.49
	<u>99.41</u>		<u>99.41</u>
	Total income	99.41	
	Total expenditure	96.92	
		<u>2.49</u>	
	Cash on hand Jan. 22		2.49

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# PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR GETTING THE PARTY MOVING AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

By Larry Walker, Toronto

What can each of us do within the Party to focus attention on Vietnam? This, I feel, is the most immediate problem facing members of the NDP. Despite almost total approval of the Vietnam resolution at the last federal convention, the Party to this date has in the main consciously avoided the issue.

In my opinion, a great effort by rank and file New Democrats can force the Party leadership to speak out loudly and unequivocally against American policy and against our Government's position as an uncritical camp-follower and apologist of this policy.

Here are some suggestions on what can be done.

## On the Riding Level:

- Generate discussion on Vietnam. Convince your fellow members of the necessity for militancy in the present situation.
- Distribute copies of Tommy Douglas' House of Commons Vietnam speech.
- Submit letters or articles to the editors of the Party organs criticizing the leadership's inactivity and almost total silence on Vietnam.
- Press for the publication and door-to-door circulation of the Douglas speech and other pertinent literature.
- Hold caucusses of like-minded New Democrats in order to present a strong united Vietnam viewpoint to the riding.
- Where a good portion of the riding feels strongly about Vietnam, push to hold well-publicized public meetings on Vietnam. To these meetings other ridings can be invited, possibly as co-sponsors. If a public meeting is not possible, then induce the riding to hold a general meeting with a Vietnam educational.
- Have your riding contact and support the efforts of local peace organizations who are campaigning against the war.
- Send telegrams and letters to the federal NDP Caucus, Prime Minister Pearson, and local newspapers, presenting the riding's views.

## On the Local Level:

- Initiate area meetings featuring prominent speakers. These meetings can be sponsored by a number of ridings and affiliated unions.
- Make representations to NDP area councils, labour councils, farmers' unions etc., to endorse and aid such meetings.
- Contact local NDP candidates, MP's, MLA's, councillors and aldermen, urging their public support.
- Organize demonstrations and other dramatic actions such as street meetings against the war and Canada's involvement in it.

## Provincially and Federally:

- Get the agreement of various representatives, candidates, ridings, councils and union locals to ask your provincial executive to organize mass meetings on Vietnam with NDP speakers, and possibly American speakers. Urge them to begin a campaign against the war by publishing and distributing leaflets at plant gates, sports events, universities etc., explaining our position on the war.



Urge the provincial executives to compel the parliamentary caucus to make Vietnam the number one issue in the House of Commons by presenting a white paper on Vietnam using our research facilities.

- Urge them to attack strongly the pro-war positions of the other parties.

#### In Your Union:

- Move resolutions endorsing the NDP position on Vietnam.
- Write to your union paper against the 'dirty war'.
- Have Canadian Labour Congress delegates work for a policy statement by the CLC against the war.
- Try to develop, at all levels of the union, an anti-war campaign through discussions, resolutions, selling anti-war buttons, educationals, etc.

These are some general suggestions for activity in your area. One thing to keep in mind is the call by the Federal Council of the Young New Democrats for a march on Ottawa, March 25 and 26. Efforts should be made in all areas to gather support for this demonstration. If long distance makes participation in Ottawa impossible, local sympathy demonstrations can be organized.

Our Party must make its views known. The NDP must offer the Canadian people leadership in the face of the "supine subservience" of the "power elite" parties, and in the face of lies and distortions of an acquiescent press.

Remember that we, the rank and file of the Party, sent in the resolutions which culminated in our policy against the war. It is up to us actively to implement this policy.

Ottawa, May 28, 1965

T.C. Douglas: Leader of the New Democratic Party.

"... Throughout this long crisis (the Vietnam crisis) the Canadian Government has assumed a differential posture of supine subservience ... as a poet once said: 'to sin by silence when we should protest makes cowards of men'. We think the time has come to speak out, and to speak out boldly before it is too late."

#### TOMMY DOUGLAS ON VIETNAM

Reprint of the entire text of a speech given to the House of Commons by T. C. Douglas, May 28 1965, outlining the New Democratic Party position on Vietnam. (Limited supply - send your request in now.) Contributions appreciated.

By Nick Shugalo

On December 9, 1965, the Vancouver section of the federal NDP Socialist Caucus held its first meeting. Present were some of those B.C. delegates who played a role in forming the Socialist Caucus during the recent federal convention in Toronto.

This convention was a milestone in the short history of the Party. For the first time socialists in the Party made an effort to coalesce a cross-country body of opposition to its reformist program and leadership. Socialist caucuses had been formed earlier during provincial conventions but they never reached federal level. Many of us who in the past had worked for a socialist program on the provincial level welcomed this development and gave it every possible assistance.

Delegates who returned from the convention last July told us to look forward to the publication of a Caucus Bulletin, and to expect further activity. They argued that like-minded New Democrats should be pulled together to form a group which would support the Socialist Caucus Bulletin, and carry on activity with the same aims on the provincial level. This finally resulted in calling a meeting.

All New Democrats interested in the struggle for a socialist program were invited to the meeting. Introductory remarks on recent NDP history and socialist caucus activity opened the meeting. The fifteen present then elected a chairman and drew up an agenda.

Our group that night was probably representative of any other such caucus meeting in other areas of the province. Some of us had been in the CCF. Others participated in caucus meetings held by socialists in preparation for the provincial convention. Still others were entirely new to such activity but eager to get the NDP on the socialist road.

It is therefore understandable that our discussion was animated, long and wide-ranging. We discussed the role the Caucus should play, and felt that although the Caucus was regarded as mainly a federal grouping it should try to play a similar role on the provincial level, especially during provincial conventions.

We agreed our point of view could be more forcefully established if we acted in a coordinated way rather than as a loose heterogeneous group in the NDP dissatisfied with the reformist program and leadership.

We also discussed the possibility of making contact with socialists in the ranks of the youth section of the NDP, and how we could coordinate our activities.

One of the main topics on the agenda was the United States intervention in Vietnam. We agreed there was a large body of opposition in Canada to U.S. policy in Vietnam. We discussed the complete inactivity of the Party leadership on this question and its failure to attempt to mobilize the Party and the public to oppose this inhuman massacre by demanding an end to Canada's support and participation, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops. It was decided that we attempt to get our constituencies to hold meetings on Vietnam, and that we try to compel the provincial leadership, through club resolutions addressed to it, to hold a mass public meeting on Vietnam.

To help with the expenses of the Socialist Caucus Bulletin, we decided to raise money by holding a social. In addition to raising money for the Toronto publication, the social would be an excellent means of making broader contact with others in the Party who share our views.

We ended by choosing a pro-tem steering committee consisting of John Macey as organizer, a correspondent, treasurer, and two members at large. This committee was also made responsible for setting up a social to be held on January 22. Before the meeting was adjourned a decision was taken to send letters to riding association secretaries suggesting that the association invite a Socialist Caucus speaker who would explain why the Caucus was formed and what its objectives are.

I left the meeting with the satisfying impression that perhaps now socialists in the Party could make contact with the membership and get a hearing. I can recall the efforts made by a great number of socialists in the CCF and the failure of these efforts. At that time no one could agree on a common line of action. If this first meeting was any indicator, it seemed clear that there was general agreement that the New Democratic Party is Canada's labour party, that it needs a socialist program, and that the leadership is not meeting its responsibilities toward this end, and most significantly that it is now time to organize seriously to carry out the changes we feel are necessary.

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### QUEBEC REPORT

By Brenda Zannis

(The last issue of the Bulletin dealt primarily with the federal election. No report from Quebec was included. We felt that such a report would be valuable for Bulletin readers and have included one in this issue ... Editor.)

The last federal election indicated both a significant victory for the Quebec NDP and a failure of the party to capitalize fully on the growing feelings of discontent with the abuses of the present social system. On the one hand, the Party registered a sizeable increase in its popular vote throughout the province. On the other, it did not get the support expected from many areas, and many voters apparently not seeing the NDP as a viable vehicle for protest totally bypassed it.

Throughout the province the Party ran up a sixty per cent increase in its vote to take some twelve per cent of the total. In the Montreal area the Party had close to twenty per cent of the total votes cast, an increase of thirty per cent over its 1963 figure. The Montreal region is the Party's traditional centre of strength, with over half of its vote coming from this area. Here they ran second in nine of twenty-one ridings, four of them retaining their deposits. In one riding, Notre Dame de Grace, they managed to obtain almost a third of the total vote cast.

While the most spectacular successes were registered in two predominantly English middle-class ridings, in at least one of these the main areas of support were the pockets of working-class residences within the riding. It must also be kept in mind that these two ridings were the centres of concentration of the resources of the provincial organizations, and in addition had substantial and active constituency organizations. They were thus able to mount extensive electoral campaigns. In Montreal, outside these two areas, the Party showed its strength mainly in areas composed of French-Canadian working-class residents.

Unfortunately, the Party failed to give any clear programmatic direction to this extensive move of protest against the traditional capitalist parties. (The extent of this move can partly be seen from the fact that only forty-two per cent of the Montreal electorate cast its votes for the Liberals and Tories. The majority either voted for the minority parties or abstained. In total, close to



forty per cent abstained in Montreal.) The almost total failure of the Party to deal clearly with the basic issues facing the electorate was undoubtedly a major factor in its failure to gain the fullest support from this widespread dissatisfaction with the status quo. This weakness is further reflected in the fact that the Party has not yet shown itself capable of crystallizing any organizational gains out of the substantial protest vote it was able to obtain. This of course means that its victory has not been consolidated, and can thus subside just as easily and rapidly as it arose. The Social Credit phenomenon — a movement of social protest without any clear and solid programmatic base, which suddenly arose to spectacular proportions and has declined ever since — should warn the Party members of the catastrophic consequences of such methods.

The weaknesses of the Party were best revealed in the results from the rural ridings, in several of which the Party had high expectations. In Beauce, for example, where the provincial Party's leader Robert Cliche was running, a victory was considered fairly probable and was another centre for concentration of the party's resources. Here they were able to capture quite a sizeable portion of the Creditiste vote but did not pose sufficiently clear an alternative as to fully consolidate this trend. The result was a clear Liberal victory. In other ridings the protest votes were registered for the Conservatives. In many ridings the votes of both leading parties declined, without any significant rise in support for the NDP.

The repercussions of this rise in support were immediately reflected into the labour movement. Immediately after the election, Louis Laberge, President of the Quebec Federation of Labour, issued a statement in which he openly admitted that it had been a serious failing of the labour movement to have not given greater support to the NDP in the election. (The QFL had, for the first time, given verbal support to the NDP, but little more; the CSN had remained apolitical.) He called for the unity of the trade union movement, on the political plane at least, before the next federal elections, and stated that it was the role of the labour movement to establish the NDP firmly, especially in the Montreal region.

This was also a major topic of discussion at the QFL convention which was held shortly afterward. Both the NDP victories, and a question which flowered naturally from it — that of the establishment of a Quebec labour party — were extensively discussed. The result was a motion, passed by an overwhelming majority, which pledged full support to the NDP on the federal level, and seriously raised, albeit in an extremely ambiguous form, the question of the formation of a labour party on the Quebec provincial level. This is also a question which is being seriously discussed within the ranks of the CSN, although it has not yet been raised on an official level.

However, no action was projected for the labour movement in the next provincial elections. Robert Cliche, Party provincial leader, while agreeing with the necessity of political action by the labour movement, stated that the Party did not intend to run in the 1966 elections.

One of the basic questions being considered in this discussion is the exact form this labour party will take — whether it will be simply a provincial NDP with full labour participation, or a totally separate and independent Quebec labour party. There is broad division around this question, and it is one that must be thoroughly examined and debated before a final decision can be made. But despite its importance this question still remains secondary to the essential question of the necessity of independent labour political action. Undoubtedly, all serious working-class and socialist militants will take an active part in this most significant step of Quebec organized labour, no matter what particular form it should take.

Another recent development of importance around the NDP here has been the establishment by the NDP and a number of other radical organizations of the Emergency Committee for Peace and Self-Determination in Vietnam. This committee was formed recently for the immediate purpose of organizing a demonstration in Montreal to oppose United States actions in Vietnam. It is open to all organizations who share this opposition and wish to participate in the action. It has scheduled a demonstration for February 11, to be followed by a mass protest meeting which will be addressed by a number of prominent speakers. Since support has been pledged both by UGEQ (the Union of Quebec Students) and the students society of the University of Montreal, it seems certain the demonstration will be a huge success, attracting several thousand to it.

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### PRINCIPLED POLITICS - THOUGHTS OF A CANDIDATE

The following is a portion of an article by J. Lloyd Brereton, NDP candidate for Victoria in the last federal election. The article entitled "Humanism and Politics - Thoughts After the Election" is taken from the October-November issue of the Victoria Humanist.

This article is important for New Democrats who are continually being pressured to go along with the idea that ad-men should determine the character of our election campaigns. It is especially important at this time for members of the Ontario New Democratic Party in view of a December 30 statement by the Ontario leadership concerning preparations for a fall provincial election.

According to a report in the Toronto Daily Star entitled "NDP plots Showbiz for Fall Election", Keith Willard, Chairman of a public relations committee, said the Party will attempt to sell its program with more "showbusiness" such as the "fooforaw" which helped the Liberals oust the CCF in the last Saskatchewan election.

We wonder if this is indeed the lesson to be learned from our Saskatchewan defeat. According to this theory the party with the best advertising machine, and therefore the biggest bankroll, will be the victor. It ignores the fact that stable, strong political movements are built on the foundations of a program presented honestly and forcefully to the voters. It is difficult to see how hoopla and fooforaw can clarify issues and argue for a point of view.

If the Ontario leadership were discussing polish and professionalism, this would be a different matter. This is necessary in any campaign. However, judging from the apolitical approach to the last federal campaign, the Ontario election strategists are interested not in mastering the professional skills necessary for an effective presentation of the Party program, but rather in an intensification of the razzle-dazzle which cut so seriously into the presentation of the Party program in the last election, and the NDP support at the polls.

Mr. Brereton came up against this concept when he began his campaign. He rejected it in favour of an approach which does not assume that the working man is a mindless, thoughtless pleasure seeker, moved only by flashing lights and brass bands. On the contrary, Mr. Brereton went into the campaign with a respect for the voter, which compelled him to deal honestly and forthrightly with the issues at hand.

The following extracts from his article sum up the results of his approach:

".... First, I was warned that being an atheist would go against me. Secondly, I was warned that it would be unwise to make much mention of socialism; people are frightened of it. Thirdly, I was warned not to say much about foreign policy, especially about the war in Vietnam. I never really discovered why.

I soon found that each of these three warnings was groundless. No one seemed to care what my religious beliefs were so long as they were sincerely held. In fact with two of three other candidates actively associated with Billy Graham type revivalist meetings that had just been held in the city, my atheism may well have been an advantage. By stating frankly that I was a socialist, I gained support from a large group of devoted socialists and, for the reasons elaborated below, from many former liberals and conservatives who were genuinely open-minded and ready to welcome frank discussion. As for the war in Vietnam, I am sure that I should have lost support if I had failed to make clear from the start my opposition to American policy. I remember one meeting in a home where there were about twenty people; they were quite sceptical until I spoke out about the injustice of American action and the drift to world war...

.... At the present time, a large part of the population is serious in its thinking. When one is serious, one yearns for frankness even if it is brutal. If someone offers to discuss religion or politics, one wants him to say frankly just what he believes and what he advocates and why. One does not want him saying things because he believes the listener wants to hear them. I came across people who appeared to be apathetic until I remarked that many voters were worried about the word 'socialism'. Then they were glad to discuss its implications and often ended up as supporters ..."

In our opinion, what Mr. Brereton has to say makes sense, and he is not alone in his thinking. There are many New Democrats who through the experience of being candidates or working in election campaigns are coming to the conclusion that there is no substitute for a principled approach to politics if we are serious about becoming an irremovable movement of the people. A number of these people have made their views known in the "Commonwealth". New Democrats who are of this same opinion should take the lead of their Saskatchewan counterparts and join this struggle for an end to political opportunism by speaking up wherever they can, at riding association meetings, coffee parties, committees, councils and conventions.

Toronto, December 30, 1965

M. J. Coldwell:

At a meeting held in honour of his 77th Birthday at Yorkdale Plaze, M. J. Coldwell, former National leader of the CCF, took the opportunity to straddle the fence on Vietnam by blaming both sides for the conflict. He reenforced the U.S. State Department McArthyite charge that the Vietnamese conflict is conducted by international communism from outside and is therefore not a civil war by attacking "the promoters of communism who are trying to stop the march of progress with guns". To balance the act he charged that the U.S. was guilty of atrocities in Vietnam comparable to those for which she condemned Nazi generals in World War II and called on Canada to protest "the killing of innocent men, women and children by bombing undefended villages".



# METRO NDP VIETNAM COMMITTEE PLANS VIETNAM SPEAKOUT. . . PARTY NOW SLATED TO HOLD MASS MEETING ON VIETNAM

by Don Oman, Toronto

On the initiative of a number of Metro New Democrats, a committee of Metro New Democrats Concerned Over Vietnam has been formed. Its actions have been instrumental in bringing about an NDP mass meeting on Vietnam.

A Dec. 19 letter to a number of New Democrats from Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, vice-president of St. Paul's Riding Association and supporter of the Socialist Caucus, initiated the committee by asking them to join with him in organizing a public meeting to protest the war in Vietnam. In his appeal, Dr. Tolentino pointed to the danger to humanity from the rapidly escalating war and the stands taken by the party at the Federal Convention and in the House of Commons, and the fact that the party has not yet begun a serious protest against the war. His letter stated:

"I think you will agree then that the New Democratic Party supported by almost a million and a half Canadians is potentially a political force which can effectively mobilize the citizens of Canada against the war and Canada's participation. It is our responsibility to meet this challenge with all our resources.

"To this date little has been done in the Toronto area, one of Canada's most important political centers. With almost one in three Torontonians an NDP supporter, the possibilities for protest against the war are obvious.

"I think we should utilize our party's position to bring the truth to the citizens of Toronto, thereby contributing to the struggle to end this brutal conflict."

Dr. Tolentino suggested the meeting would feature a prominent NDP member like W.H. Herridge who had spoken out on Vietnam, along with a leader from the American protest movement.

The response to Dr. Tolentino's appeal was encouraging. Within three weeks, 54 New Democrats from Metro agreed to become public sponsors of the meeting. This support included many executive members of riding clubs, four past candidates and two riding associations.

At a Jan. 6 meeting, a steering committee was elected consisting of Allan Rimmer, past St. Paul Federal candidate, Gwennyth Emby, president of the OYND, Ken Ranney, M.D., provincial candidate for Scarborough Centre and Dr. Tolentino. The committee decided to ask other New Democrats, riding associations, the Toronto Area Council, the Provincial executive, the Federal Council and the Toronto and District Labor Council for aid and endorsement.

Plans did not go as smoothly as hoped. January 17 correspondence to the sponsors stated Bert Herridge could not come due to another commitment (see following article) and no endorsement had been received from the party bodies. The letter stated:

"The federal and provincial sections of our party have indubitably been cool to our appeal for endorsement, and for that reason we have abandoned attempts to have one of our own members of parliament address us given the urgency of our cause."

Despite these set-backs, the committee pressed forward. Tom Gitlin, past president of Students for a Democratic Society, Mrs. Emby, Allan Rimmer and Edith Guild, NDP supporter recently returned from South East Asia, agreed to speak at a Feb. 4 meeting in a Toronto school auditorium.

In the week that followed members of the Prov. executive contacted the steering committee by phone. In discussions with George Cadbury, Jim Renwick and Jim Bury, it was learned the Prov. exec. was discussing holding a Vietnam meeting in Toronto. In correspondence with Dr. Tolentino, Desmond Morton, ass't prov. secretary, said the Federal Council was working out a policy statement on the war which would include actions against the war to include the Toronto area. He suggested the party was moving through its 'institutional' procedures and the committee might reconsider its plans.

This development presented the committee a dilemma. Its meeting was on the point of becoming a reality and the question was raised whether plans should proceed or be dropped on the assumption the prov. council Vietnam meeting would materialize.

This was discussed at a Jan. 24 meeting of the committee where reports showed even more interest had gathered for the committee with a total of 5 riding associations giving some form of support to the project: Spadina, York West, St. Pauls, Scarborough East and York North.

Debate centered about the definitiveness of the prov. exec.'s reported plans. Some sponsors felt the telephone conversations were sufficient confirmation of the party's intentions and the committee was no longer needed. Others felt in view of the leadership's poor record in carrying a significant and bold protest against the war it was possible a meeting would not materialize and they would feel on more solid ground if the committee had the provincial executive's written confirmation. It was reported the exec. had sent a letter but it had not yet been received.

Agreement on a course of action was reached with a motion to postpone for three days a final decision on the committee's meeting pending the arrival of the letter from the prov. exec. In the event the meeting was cancelled so as not to conflict with one organized by the party, the motion also stipulated the committee would offer its aid and advice in organizing such a meeting and it would send out the letter from the prov. exec. along with an explanation of the meeting's cancellation to sponsors and supporters. Since it was recognized the efforts of the committee were a significant factor in moving the prov. exec. to begin preparations for a Vietnam meeting, the committee decided to maintain itself to continue stimulating the party to carry Vietnam action.

At this report's writing, the committee has received the letter from Desmond Morton saying the party intends to hold a large Toronto Vietnam meeting in February. With this confirmation the committee will prepare to throw its weight into the preparations, state the case for the meeting at the coming Toronto Area Council meeting and intensify its efforts to make this meeting an important contribution to the struggle against the Vietnam war.

TORONTO, Jan. 9/66--David Lewis, M.P., New Democratic Party, York South, in an address to Forest Hill Riding Assoc. general meeting devoted a few moments to Vietnam where he described the American protest movement as being more critical of Washington than himself. He related a conversation between himself and three American professors he met in Mexico who were extremely critical of their government's policy. In a reference to the positions of the other parties he said "It's time that a voice for the independence of Vietnam be heard in Parliament."

NOVEMBER MEETING OF OYND PROVINCIAL COUNCIL TAKES STANDS AGAINST EXPULSIONS, FOR MORE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS, AND FOR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM

By Lyle Severin

Expulsions:

The council, at its late November meeting, decided to reject the decision of the Ontario NDP to veto the reapplication of Bob Raphael for membership in the YND. Mr. Raphael, a member of Waterloo YND, was one of twelve YND'ers expelled three years ago. A year ago he was admitted back into the YND subject to a final decision of the Ontario NDP which has the final say in matters of youth discipline. Throughout this year, Mr. Raphael has contributed heavily to the building of the Waterloo club, the provincial and federal election campaigns, and was a delegate to the federal convention of the YND. Despite this and despite the support of his club and riding association, the Party felt he had not proven himself worthy of membership. The council felt differently, however, and asked the Party to reconsider.

Convention Procedure:

More democratic convention procedure allowing freer discussion and the acceptance of the principle of giving minority reports, will be two significant aspects of the OYND provincial convention to be held February 18, 19 and 20. These decisions, taken at the council meeting, will result in a much fuller and more fruitful debate at the convention, and should reflect themselves in the adoption of a sound program capable of building the YND into a mass youth movement.

Vietnam:

In response to the escalation of the Vietnam war and Canada's involvement and support for the U.S. war effort, the council took a decision in favour of a march on Ottawa, to be held March 25 and 26, to coincide with international demonstrations being held at that time. The march would protest American policy and Canada's support for that policy.

Since then the federal council of the YND has sent out a call for this demonstration, and recently the federal council of the NDP has endorsed the planned march. At the present time, the youth federal council is attempting to get the support of other organizations opposed to the war. A successful demonstration would be a tremendous step forward in the struggle against the war and indications are that with a considerable effort this will be achieved.

READ

What is Socialism: the Debate in the New Democratic Youth. Order from 35 Heydon Park Road, Toronto, Apt. 6.

Identity: A Journal of Political Discussion within the YND, published by the Quebec Federation of New Democratic Students.



AGAINST VIETNAM HAND-SITTING

January 9, 1966

.... As things appear now, it would seem that time is rapidly closing when a stand by the NDP on Vietnam will be classified as good political thought, and will instead be of pure survival value.

Perhaps as the Americans say, they are no longer bombing the Northern part. Still the destruction of the villages in the south and the resulting loss of life and rice supplies and crops, with sprays and fire, plus the sending of the war-hawks Harriman, Bundy and Williams around to do a little arm twisting on the Allies, and then their last announcement that they are going to send rice to Vietnam, does seem to imply the feeling that the Vietnamese are about to be starved into submission, with the complete connivance of the U.S. oriented countries. Also the bombing and harrassing of the people of Laos and Cambodia bodes no good for the rest of South East Asia.

Surely it is time for the NDP to demand the Government of Canada to call for the complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam, and also the token forces of Australia and South Korea, so that the Vietnamese can get on with resolving their internal problems as they see fit.

The National Liberation Front of Vietnam is made up of roughly the union of all political parties and other area groupings and unions, which is roughly the same group that the NDP represents in Canada (small farmers, labour and small business). Surely on these terms if no other the NDP must speak out on behalf of these beleaguered peoples and in all humanity adopt an independent policy free from American control. Surely no one expects the other parties to ask our Government to disassociate itself from the American State Department's present foreign policy of counter-revolution.

Remember Van Buren passed a law making it a crime to assist followers of William McKenzie or Papeneau when we had a budding revolutionary movement many years ago. This was very instrumental in making our history proceed as it has, together with slavish endorsement of every overt move by the State Department of the U.S. to decide just what type of military dictatorship is vital to American interests. It does not leave much territory for individual initiative, or even diplomatic manoeuvring, when the rest of the world knows very clearly in advance that Canada will jump when and as instructed.

Of the abject apologists in our Cabinet, and every public figure who has access to the public media of communication, none has been willing to stand and be counted. Each and every one agrees tacitly with the Americans - to kill by any means, to invade at will and to show no respect for the sovereignty of any nation. Even an election that is not in accord with the explicit wish of the United States capital class and militarists does not stand a prayer of a chance of success. The U.S. holds the greatest percentage of the neutral nations in an iron grip, so they will either comply or risk extermination. In just this grip is Vietnam - it must either negotiate on American terms or risk race extermination.

National paranoia is no new thing, but it is the tidy, completely ruthless and all-consuming pattern that is emerging that is so frightening.

Biological and gas warfare have no moral valuations anymore - just practical value. Allies are not consulted - they are ordered not to interfere and the economic grip is so tight you may be assured they won't. Only the ordinary

citizen, each individual in each country, can take it upon himself to be the conscience for his country - there is no other.

Somehow the radicalization of the NDP is imperative. Our fellow man in all undefended countries under the shadow of the eagle needs all the friends he can get. It may yet become our turn - by that time who will be left to speak up on our behalf? Sitting on the fence has always been less than heroic, but sitting on the hands is no performance at all.

Jean H. Sloan,  
Lloydminster, Saskatchewan

#### FARMERS VERSUS WORKERS

December 28, 1965

I have just now finished reading your new bulletin and found it quite interesting. I can certainly agree with your editorial and most of the contributors when they deplore the growing conservatism of the New Democratic Party. I would not even bother to support the party at all any more except that it provides about the only opportunity one has at the present time to register one's disagreement with the old parties and the so-called free enterprise set up.

But your objective of making it a party of trade unionists and labour is even more repugnant to me. Apparently if the people are not divided into classes now you are going to see that they are.

One of the writers would include the farmers, but after all the farmer is a capitalist and an employer. Sure, he is getting a pretty poor deal but let us not pretend that under the present way of operating he has something in common with a trade unionist. You should have heard the comments of the farmers when those well paid grain handlers on the West Coast went on strike for more money.

Is nobody interested in setting up a system that would be fair and just for everybody? After all, we have the resources, equipment and the trained personnel to give everyone a wonderful standard of living ...

... I am sending along a five dollar bill, not because I am in agreement with your objectives but because you might have the effect of waking up the present leaders of the party.

Carman Poole,  
Neepawa, Manitoba

#### ELECTORATE ONLY INTERESTED IN LEADERSHIP

December 31, 1965.

I received your bulletin (No. 2) for the first time. It was very interesting and I enjoyed reading it. It serves a very useful purpose in the ranks of the NDP since the prodding of such a group will force our Party into far more constructive thinking. The NDP (or rather the CCF) was once looked upon as the conscience of the Canadian; as our Party draws closer and closer to power the left-wing will have to become the conscience of the Party. I approve of the role you are playing and I hope that you are joined by top-class public figures who are eminently informed and capable of guaranteeing an excellent production. I am including a small donation to help with the costs.

However, judging with my limited knowledge, I cannot agree with the election criticisms completely. I was a bit saddened by the tone of the campaign. I felt that we should have struck at foreign policy more boldly. I felt that we should have preached fiercely and hotly a doctrine of non-interference by large powers in the goings-on in small countries. I felt that we should have attacked violently puppet governments in the communist world as well as in the so-called free world. I felt that we should have assailed the tyranny of the corporate elite. I wanted a militant campaign.

I think that the Party direction was right. The people of Canada were interested in Leadership. They were fed up. Let us not interpret our thirty per cent election gains as a big swing to socialism. No, it happened because the people are fed up and because the Labour movement threw its weight more than ever behind the election campaign. Harold Wilson's gains in Ottawa were not due to his frank and open socialist speeches. Gains were registered in all Ottawa ridings. Harold's gains resulted from the fact that he is an excellent, well known candidate, an intelligent, likeable, hardworking guy, a good organizer who got lots of people out knocking on doors. In B.C. a more socialistic approach seems to have been used or forced upon the candidates, and yet the increase there was smaller than in any other part of the country. Highly-criticized Toronto made just about the biggest gains.

The people faced an unnecessary election with practically no interest in issues. They did not want to vote. They did not want to take part in political discussions. They wanted Parliament to reopen and get down to business; in fact I am not sure that they even knew what business they wanted Parliament to get down to - just business, I suppose. We were in the middle of an economic boom; they had money in their pockets so they were not even worried by the domination and enslavement being imposed by the tycoons. People were interested only in leaderships and in the worth of individual candidates.

The new votes for the NDP were won by active door-to-door solicitation, by massive Labour endorsement, by the esteem for NDP M.P.'s. We will obtain a far more spectacular increase in vote and elected members at the next election if Labour leaders increase their already active political education programs, if individual ridings get down to more intense contact with the electorate right away, if our M.P.'s keep up their high standards of debate and contribution to Parliament and if the left wing keeps prodding the large body of NDP'ers into more imaginative programs, more dynamic presentation of these programs during a regular campaign when the electors, not under election pressure, will be willing and happy to pay attention to policies and ideas ...

M. A. Llanos,  
Toronto, Ontario.

LOOKING FOR SOCIALIST AND PROTEST SONGS

Tom Trottier of Kingston, Ontario, has informed us he is preparing a pocket size song book for Young New Democrats (and old New Democrats, we assume). He needs socialist and protest songs as well as union songs, preferably Canadian or British. All contributions will be returned along with a copy of the song book when it is finished. SEND SONGS TO: Tom A. Trottier, 517 Johnson Street, Kingston, Ontario.



## W.H. HERRIDGE TO PARTICIPATE IN MEETING-CONFERENCE ON CANADA'S ROLE IN VIETNAM

A meeting-conference on Canada's role in Vietnam will be held in Toronto on Feb. 19. The conference's purpose is to expose and focus attention on the Canadian government's complicity with U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Seven peace groups, previously active in the metro area in the struggle against the war will sponsor the conference. They are: Canadians for Peace, Toronto Committee for Disarmament, Toronto Peace Centre, Toronto Assoc. for Peace, Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee, Students Against War and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The all-day conference will be divided into two parts. A meeting in the morning will feature informed Canadian speakers on the background and current situation in Vietnam as it affects Canada. Mr. Herridge will speak at this session along with Prof. D. Wilmot of the University of Toronto and others. The afternoon session will consist of four workshops on political action, action through peace groups, religious groups, and trade union action to develop opposition to the war.

High interest has been shown in the meeting. Support includes ministers from a variety of denominations, some trade unionists, literary figures and university faculty.

The political action workshop will undoubtedly be one of the most important workshops. Here, New Democrats will have the opportunity to discuss the role they can play as members of a political party in the struggle against the war. There will also be an opportunity to press for united action in the March on Ottawa planned by the Young New Democrats for March 26. The committee organizers hope some officials from the Ontario NDP will take part in the conference along with Mr. Herridge and other interested New Democrats.

The project continues to expand and promises to be an important step in mobilizing public opinion against our government's role in the Vietnam war. The participation of Bert Herridge, one of our own members of parliament, who led a demonstration to the American consulate in Toronto last July, will give the conference a political direction and at the same time show the New Democratic Party as an outspoken opponent of Canada's cynical and hypocritical position as world "peacemaker" and supporter of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

### BULLETIN CHANGE OF ADDRESS

We now have a post box number...

Bulletin and Socialist Caucus correspondence  
should now be sent to NDP Socialist Caucus,  
P.O. Box 874, Station F, Toronto, Ontario.

# socialist caucus bulletin

An unofficial bulletin published by members  
of the New Democratic Party dedicated to  
winning the NDP to a socialist program.

NO. 5

MAY '66

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# SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN - NUMBER FIVE

## About the Bulletin

The Socialist Caucus Bulletin is a news and discussion bulletin written by and for socialists in the New Democratic Party who feel the need to organize to bring a socialist program to the New Democratic Party. It is hoped that the bulletin which originated after the 1965 Federal Convention will serve to organize and contribute to the development of socialist thought and forces within the New Democratic Party. Issues of the bulletin are circulated to interested members of the Party and costs are met through the donations of its readers. The bulletin is written and mimeographed with voluntary labor.

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John Steele - Toronto (Spadina)  
Larry Walker - Toronto (Spadina)

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### CONTRIBUTE TO THE BULLETIN

Only regular donations by bulletin readers can insure regular publication. Send names, articles, news items, letters, DONATIONS to: Socialist Caucus Bulletin, P.O. Box 872, Station F, Toronto, Ontario.

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### OTHER ... SOCIALIST CAUCUS PUBLICATIONS

1. Federal Caucus program.
2. Reprint of attack on the Caucus by the New Democrat
3. Reply to the New Democrat
4. May 28th Vietnam speech by T.C. Douglas to the House of Commons
5. Reply to the Ontario Provincial Executive Vietnam circular by the Toronto Area Socialist Caucus.



THE CHANGE IN THE TITLE OF THE BULLETIN

by The Editors.

In Issue Number Four we published a letter dated March 3rd addressed to the editors from the Provincial Secretary of the Ontario New Democratic Party. In this letter we were requested to omit the letters NDP from the title of our bulletin. The reason given was that continued use of the letters could confuse the public as to who was speaking for the Party. The fact that distribution of the bulletin is limited to Party members and only to those who request it or may be interested in it was overlooked.

We replied to this letter and pointed out that the matter would be referred to caucus supporters and the editors would be guided by their response. We offered, however, to make any clarification necessary in the layout of the bulletin to ensure there could be no confusion as to whose views were included in the bulletin.

Shortly after the first letter the bulletin editors received another one dated March 24th pertaining to a decision taken by the March 12th Ontario Provincial Council meeting. The letter stated:-

New Democratic Party of Ontario  
11 $\frac{1}{2}$  Spadina Rd., Toronto.  
March 3, 1966.

Dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

At the Provincial Council meeting of this past weekend the Council delegates passed a statement of interpretation to the existing Provincial Constitution on matters related to discipline. The statement is enclosed for your attention. This statement now becomes the official interpretation of the Party on sections of the Constitution dealing with discipline.

I would suggest to you that there is no question that with the passage of this statement by the Council, it is no longer possible for your bulletin to use the name of the Party or its initials. I would suggest, therefore, that you cease using our name or initials in your Socialist Caucus bulletin.

Yours truly,

Jim Bury,  
Provincial Secretary.

The policy statement taken at the March 12th Provincial Council meeting stated:-

Statement of responsibilities of membership

A member of the New Democratic Party shall be subject to the disciplinary provisions of the Constitution of the Party if he:-

- a) misrepresents the policy of the Party;
- b) while representing the Party or any constituency association publically conducts himself in such a way as to bring discredit to the Party;

- c) supports a group or organization, not constitutionally set up within the Party, which uses the name of the Party without prior written approval of the Party.

(Presented to the Provincial Council of the Ontario New Democratic Party by its executive on March 12th, 1966)

Since these letters, discussions have been held by caucus supporters in a number of areas on what to do about this request.

At an April 14th socialist caucus meeting in Toronto, those present felt that the use of the initials themselves was not a matter of principle although it seemed natural enough for an internal Party publication produced by Party members to designate itself as being 'NDP'. The majority felt that a conflict with the executive on this issue would serve no purpose. The important thing was the publication of the bulletin as a means of circulating and building the minority view within the Party. Dropping the initials would not impede this significantly. The decision taken was to drop the initials so that the title would read, "Socialist Caucus Bulletin" along with a clarification on the cover explaining that the bulletin was the work of like-minded members of the New Democratic Party. The meeting also felt that the editors should apply to the Party for permission to use the initials.

A letter from Jeffrey White, our Kingston correspondent suggested a similar view. He writes:-

"... we feel that the Council's request is most unreasonable. The Socialist Caucus is not and does not pretend to be either a distinct political party or an armchair study group. It is a serious grouping of members of the NDP who are actively working to win the majority of members of the Party to a socialist program. Whether or not it has the blessing of the Federal Party executive or each of the provincial sections, it is a legitimate minority group within the New Democratic Party. Without the NDP there can be no socialist caucus ...

... in addition we feel that the Provincial Council is being rather presumptuous in attempting to exercise control over a nation-wide organ of internal Party debate. The Ontario NDP does not have sole "copyright" on the initials of the NDP and protests of that nature ought to come from the Federal body, if they ought to come at all ...

... we feel therefore that the bulletin editorial board should comply with the Council's decision and remove the letters "NDP" from future bulletins ..."

Mr. White then adds that the bulletin should have a statement of purpose on the front cover to avoid "what Mr. Bury terms 'confusion in the public mind'".

Caucus supporters in Vancouver, raising generally the same questions came up with somewhat different suggestions. In that discussion two points of view were put forward. One suggested the initials should be dropped and the title be "Socialist Caucus Bulletin". The other suggested the form of the title be changed to read "Socialist Caucus Bulletin of the NDP" along with a statement of purpose. The proponents of the title without the initials argued that compliance with the Ontario executive would put to the test the principle outlined in the executive's first piece of correspondence that Party members are free to carry on

discussion about the Party's direction. Those arguing for maintaining the initials in another form suggested that if the executive did not go for this when there was no confusion about the representation of the bulletin the political question of Party democracy would then be raised and could be discussed openly. No final decision was reached because it was felt the meeting was not representative of the forces in the B.C. left. However, a vote was taken which gave the majority to those retaining the initials in the reverse form along with a statement of purpose.

The discussions with the different proposals seem to have produced general agreement on the following point -

the request by the Ontario Provincial Council and Executive for the elimination of any confusion about who the bulletin represents should be carried out.

With this in mind the editorial committee has come up with the title on the cover of this issue. A letter will also be sent to the Provincial executive requesting permission to use the name on the bulletin. The Provincial Council is the authority between conventions over members of the Ontario New Democratic Party. Since it feels the use of the initials creates "confusion" we have complied by dropping the initials. However, to avoid any confusion about the bulletin's origins and purpose as a discussion organ for a minority grouping within the New Democratic Party we have included an explanation of the bulletin on the cover. We hope this meets with the approval of the bulletin readers.

Perhaps a few more words should be said on this matter since other questions beyond the question of "confusion" and "initials" have been raised. Caucus supporters have asked why the Provincial Council and executive have taken this action. Can we expect further action against the bulletin and its supporters? Were the actions of the Provincial executive dictated by a genuine concern over confusion in the public mind or by less lofty reasons?

We feel there is some foundation for such questions. For instance it is generally known that both the Ontario leadership and in general the Federal leadership of our Party do not think highly of the practice of forming caucuses within the Party. The March 12th Ontario Provincial Council meeting where the "initials" question was debated seemed to reflect this unfortunate attitude.

At this meeting there was a great 'to-do' about the socialist caucus bulletin. The question of the use of the Party name became lost when members of the executive rose repeatedly to denounce the bulletin for creating divisions in the Party, "balkanizing" it and encouraging members to ignore proper Party channels. There was heavy desk thumping when one of the Council delegates suggested supporters of the bulletin should get out and form their own party.

The tone of this meeting suggests that the Provincial executive was more concerned about the bulletin and the caucus per se rather than possible confusion over the use of the initials - although at this time this is somewhat conjecture. We would like to think that the use of the initials was THE issue and not the rights of Party minorities to expound and organize around their point of view within the Party.

In our opinion the existence of the caucus bodes well for an increase in the calibre of discussion and the development of a rounded, well-thought out and correct program for the Party. We sincerely hope there is no intention to put into some form of action the tone of the March 12th Provincial Council meeting.

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SOCIALIST CAUCUS FINANCIAL STATEMENT AS AT MAY 6, 1966Income

Cash on hand as at Jan. 22/66     \$    2.49  
 Donations from Jan. 22                229.98

\_\_\_\_\_

\$ 232.47

Expenditures

Stamps                                 \$    66.29  
 Hotel rooms                            25.00  
 Post Box                                6.35  
 Subscriptions -  
     Candor                              2.00  
     Cdn. Alternative                  6.00  
 Stationery                              16.86  
 Bulletins (3 & 4)                      71.85  
     (paper, ink, stenc.)  
    \$ 194.35  
    38.12

\_\_\_\_\_

\$ 232.47

\_\_\_\_\_

\$ 232.47

Total Income                         \$232.47

Total Expenditures                 194.35

Cash on hand - May 6 -    38.12

WHY THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD CONTEST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

by Carl Stolk, Richmond, B.C.

(Editors' Note: The following letter expresses opposition to the present policy of the B.C. New Democratic Party on municipal elections. During the 1965 B.C. Provincial Convention, Resolution #133 which called for the Party to enter municipal politics never got to the floor and was referred to the incoming executive. When this question came up in the October 16th, 1965 Provincial Council meeting the resolutions passed forbade New Democrats from running municipally on the Party label and urged them to run as "private Citizens".

The letter printed here was delivered in person by the author to Mr. E. Hall, B.C. Provincial Secretary and Editor of the B.C. Democrat. After a short discussion where Mr. Hall conceded that Resolution #133 would have probably been passed by the '65 Convention, the letter was changed somewhat to make it more "acceptable". However, so far the editor has been "unable" to find room in the Party publication. Because of its timeliness for New Democrats in the East and the West, we have printed it in this issue of the bulletin.

In Ontario, the Party is also faced with this question with both a Provincial Convention and municipal elections in the fall. It will be a major topic at the May 14th Toronto Area Council Convention. The present policy of the T.A.C. is to support candidates who run on NDP planks. This means that to get the Party endorsement, a candidate need not carry the Party label or even be a member of the Party. Riding associations have a local option on whether to field candidates at all.)

Dear Sir:-

5.

The lead article in the Dec. 20th Democrat mentions that the NDP Provincial Council has dealt with the Municipal Affairs Committee report. The report arose from Convention Resolution #133 which reads as follows:-

"Resolved that the NDP forward candidates in the municipal field under the NDP name and program."

It was decided by Council that "... no person be authorized to contest municipal elections as an NDP candidate."

Since a disturbing trend toward pure electoralism has developed of late within the NDP, I wonder if it has been considered that there is a social reason for the NDP to contest municipal elections. In our failure to contest these elections, we renege in our responsibility to the working people in B.C. as the political arm of labor.

Furthermore we give credence to the myth that municipal politics are non-partisan. We have the responsibility to put forth our program on the municipal level, because ours is a working class program which expresses our needs and will not be carried by anyone but ourselves. We have a program of low-cost housing, medicare, day-care centres, support for trade unions, which can and must be put into effect on the local level.

Working people need decent housing. The real estate tycoons already have pretty good living accommodation. Moreover, many of them thrive as slumlords and speculation means the deterioration of certain areas.

Medicare and Denticare are a working class need. Swift Current, Saskatchewan has demonstrated that they can be instituted on the municipal level.

Day-care centres have the best possibility of realization on the municipal level.

Workers need a pro-labor administration at City Hall. A pro-labor City Hall would support organizing activity as well as counteract big business oriented Provincial and Federal governments. A socialist administration would not have tolerated the police brutality which took place at Allied Engineering and Scott Transfer in Vancouver. Nor would it tolerate the use of police to herd scabs through picket lines and the use of dogs against workers. Nor would it afford the extraordinary police "protection" given to Mitchell Press to-day. Certainly an NDP mayor would not insult the head of the Civic Workers' Union, but bargain fairly with that union.

An NDP administration at City Hall would not use police to break up a peaceful anti-Vietnam War demonstration while appearing to be friendly to a fascist oriented group.

Flowing logically from NDP principles would be the following programmatic points:-

1. Efficient low-cost transportation leading to a free transportation system for the Vancouver Metropolitan area.
2. All civic tax rolls to be opened to public scrutiny with a view to revising the tax structure according to ability to pay.
3. Education costs to be born by the Provincial government. An NDP civic

administration would campaign to force the Provincial government to assume its responsibilities in this field.

In addition, the NDP has the responsibility to lead the fight for civic democracy. Apathy is unconsciously fostered by tying property ownership to civic rights and making it difficult for persons to be on the voters' list. Most civic voters' lists contain only a fraction of the population - the middle and upper class fraction. The fight for civic democracy is necessary, long overdue and would open vast opportunities to our Party. What is more, only the NDP has the ability to lead and carry this fight.

When entering municipal elections, it will be ridiculously easy for our candidates to show why parties are needed. At present, election statements are so many meaningless words, as they are only the statements of an individual, made with no responsibility or commitment and without a chance of realization unless the rest of the free-wheeling council members support them. The so-called non-partisan associations can easily be shown to be very partisan indeed.

The NDP was formed because the big business parties could not represent the needs of the workers who constitute the vast majority of the population. We cannot stop half-way. We must break the hold of big business on civic government. We want democratic, popular government on all levels, representing the majority of the people, working people - not big business and real estate sharks.

The British Labor Party built a mass organization on civic politics. In Winnipeg, the NDP and the CCF before it, has been very successful in civic elections against the united parties of big business, a "non-partisan association". The B.C. NDP could accomplish this too, while at the same time, demonstrating its ability to govern and put into effect much of its program. Civic politics is a training ground for our membership as well as another field for popularizing our ideas.

By expanding our area of activity, our membership and income would also increase. Finances come from people who work in campaigns. Our campaigns would no doubt attract many people to us. Thus our activity in this area would be invaluable in building our Party as well as our electoral success. Vast opportunities are open to us. A heavy responsibility rests on us. We are obliged to give civic politics our honest consideration.

It is to be hoped that following this Council decision, a thorough discussion of the whole question will take place in the pages of the Democrat as well as in the riding associations and trade unions. Then at the Provincial Convention in April of this year, let us discuss civic politics on the floor, and decide by delegate vote our future course of action.

Fraternally,

Carl M. Stolk

---



## DISCUSSION ON MUNICIPAL POLITICS

Addressing the April 28th meeting of the Spadina Riding Association in Toronto, on the subject of the NDP and municipal politics, Controller William Dennison, a New Democrat, argued against the use of the Party label in the municipal field. In his opinion, municipal politics was "kindergarten" for politicians aspiring to the Provincial and Federal levels. Municipal issues like "sewage" didn't lend themselves to party politics and so the label was a hindrance to election. Comparing the municipal voter to the "mob" in the French Revolution which "didn't know what it was supporting" Mr. Dennison felt that a minimal but efficient organization based on the most popular issues would insure election on the municipal level. Perseverance, he suggested, was another factor pointing out that over the years, he has won the support of even an organizer for the Conservative Party.

Desmond Morton, Spadina member and Provincial Executive member thought the Party should first aim for the Provincial level because of the Provincial government control over municipal government. He also felt the Party could not enter municipal politics now because it lacked a municipal program.

When the discussion had finished, though, the Riding voted to submit a resolution to the May 15th Toronto Area Council Convention calling on the Party to run a full slate in the municipal elections using the Party label.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA NDP CONVENTION

by Sheila Turgeon, Vancouver

This year the Socialist Caucus in Vancouver tried to prepare itself for the convention. Well in advance of the convention date a series of meetings were set up. These meetings were to prepare the Socialist Caucus supporters to argue on the main points in an NDP program. It was decided that at each meeting a person would be assigned to prepare a paper and read it, this was then to be discussed, amended and printed for mailing.

In this way, a series of papers was presented. These included - Nationalization, labor, Quebec, municipal elections, socialist program, women's rights, colonial revolution, education, farm problems and Party procedure. In addition to these papers, one of the first meetings decided on a whole series of resolutions. These resolutions provided a clear brake to the present liberal-reformist program of the Party. These were mailed to all supporters. Every recipient was asked to use these resolutions as a basis of resolutions that could be submitted to the convention.

Thus armed, we approached the convention, certain that we would make gains. There is no doubt that we had an impact on the convention. The Socialist Caucus operated openly from one of the rooms in the same hotel in which the convention was held. It distributed material and ran a slate of candidates on a three-point program. The program was boldly advertised in the lobby of the hotel for all delegates to see as they walked in and out of the convention. John Macey, the candidate running for president of the Party on the Socialist Caucus slate, stated clearly why he ran. He said he was running because he stood for nationalization

of all basic industry, for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, for the thirty-hour work-week with no loss in pay and for a democratic party with annual conventions and no political expulsions. Thus the caucus provided an alternative to the present leadership. Two of the active Socialist Caucus participants, Sheila Turgeon and Sharon Hager spoke out clearly on the question of Vietnam, nationalization and women's rights.

Carl Stolk, a Socialist Caucus supporter, was able to win the backing of the convention delegates to have municipal elections discussed. He had repeatedly tried to have the resolutions committee introduce it. Again as at the last convention this was referred back to the new executive.

The voting on resolutions and candidates indicated a confusion on issues. The slate of the establishment at no time received an overwhelming victory and in some instances received defeat. The positions of the leadership clearly indicated a further shift to the right programmatically on nationalization, while a reluctant swing to the left on Vietnam reflecting an uncertainty in their minds of how the delegates felt. In addition, the question of expulsions was not in the air. All this resulted in a much more democratic and relaxed convention than in previous years.

The first point was an emergency resolution on Vietnam - a long, heated, but rewarding debate. Then came the reports - which were referred to committee without being read or discussed. Finally the organizer's report was read. It was here that it became clear the sad state of the Party membership was just over 6,000. There was no enthusiasm in the Party ranks. How, asked the organizer, were we to build the enthusiasm? No answer was given.

The rest of the convention reflected this quandry. For example, how do you build the Democrat from a drab, uninteresting rag into a dynamic newspaper. One committee even suggested that the Democrat be dropped and that mimeographed bulletin be published instead.

There was no report, no resolution was adopted which was bold, demanded a complete break with the status quo, something that showed a clear, socialist alternative. Perhaps the culminating indication of this drabness was the speech by Bob Strachan, leader of the Party. One of the main points in the Party program was "morality in government".

It was in a relatively friendly atmosphere that the Socialist Caucus tried to make its ideas known. We failed to make full use of the opportunities because of lack in organization. An effort was made by some caucus supporters and others to hold a Vietnam workshop. We succeeded in getting the convention floor for that purpose during the lunch break but because everyone had to get lunch, no one showed up at the same time and the workshop could not materialize.

The same thing could be said about the meetings at the caucus room. There were successes though. We made contact with members from all parts of the province. Some agreed to act as correspondents for the Socialist Caucus Bulletin from their areas.

The discussion on the floor showed that between the stalwarts of the old CCF and the new socialists lay a broad gap of years. Dorothy Steeves typified the best tradition of the old CCF. But between her and the new members of the left were lost several generations. There were new young people to carry on the socialist tradition in our Party. Their numbers were small. They were to some degree unsure of themselves. But in general the convention clearly indicated that these new young socialists were learning and willing to stand up and fight for their views.

## CAUCUS SUPPORTERS IN THE TORONTO AREA BEGIN PREPARATIONS

## FOR ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION

Recent meetings of the Toronto Area NDP Socialist Caucus have begun preparations for the Ontario Provincial Convention next October. Within the next two months, through a series of discussions the caucus supporters will produce a Provincial program to place before the Party in October.

Attendance at the meetings was highly encouraging, with New Democrats from nearly every riding in the Metro area contributing. At the April 4th meeting held in the Westbury Hotel where 45 attended, several items of importance were discussed. A decision was taken to recommend dropping the Party initials on the bulletin at the request of the Ontario Provincial Executive, a circular to Ontario bulletin readers was drafted to reply to a Provincial Executive circular to riding associations on the war in Vietnam. In their circular, the Provincial Executive stated the Party was taking the initiative in the struggle against the war but cautioned that although Vietnam was important, the Party had to be built implying that New Democrats active in the anti-war movement were neglecting the Party. Cautioning members that Communists and Trotskyists were attempting to "trap" New Democrats into "irresponsible" united front "ad hoc" co-ordinating committees, they warned, "we will not help our cause of awakening mass concern among the Canadian people if any of us fall into this trap". The Socialist Caucus took exception to these remarks since they were obviously aimed at the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam in which many New Democrats have participated. The reply sent to bulletin readers, pointed out the lack of Party initiative, the distortion of Party policy, and the falsity of the charge of irresponsibility in relation to the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee and the seriousness of implicating Party members with organizations the Party has declared subversive and proscribed. A discussion on resolutions for the Annual Toronto Area Council meeting May 14th produced a resolution calling on the Party to enter municipal politics with a full slate on the Party label.

The May 3rd meeting elected a new caucus executive and bulletin committee. Four were elected to the six-man executive leaving two more positions to be filled. Those elected were - Chairman, John Steele, Spadina; Secretary-treasurer, Don Oman, High Park; Mark Llanos, Davenport, and Bea Bryant, North York.

An editorial committee of three was elected, as well as a bulletin committee with several positions unfilled on that committee. The bulletin committee will be a working committee which will also review the content of the bulletin. The new editorial committee consists of Frank Gorton, St. Paul's; George Hagggar, York Centre, and John Steele, Spadina. Elected to the bulletin committee were - Don Graham, York Humber; Lyle Severin, Davenport; Arthur Arnot, York North; Julie Tolentino, St. Paul's and Doug Campbell, St. Paul's.

A discussion on a municipal program for the Ontario Party concluded the meeting with Don Oman giving the main contribution.

Next meeting of the Caucus is to be held, Tuesday, May 31st at the Westbury with the new executive in charge. Further discussions on a program for the Provincial Convention will be held as well as the regular business of the caucus.



WHY OUR LEADERSHIP REFUSES TO ACT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR

by John Steele, Spadina, Toronto

It is stating the obvious, I think, to say that since the Federal Convention, many New Democrats have been disappointed at the failure of our leadership to act boldly against the war. We have applauded the little effort which has been made, the latest being the endorsement by some of our national leaders including Tommy Douglas, of a Vancouver committee to send medical aid to Vietnam.

But we have waited far too long for a serious attempt to mobilize the people of Canada to ACT against the war. We hoped that our 26 MPs would attempt to make Vietnam THE KEY issue in Parliament. We have waited in vain for Party literature which would enable us to begin a serious door-to-door campaign. The national leader has yet to make a tour of Canada to agitate against the war and Canadian complicity. The Party as a whole has not been geared from the leadership down to build the kind of anti-war movement which in conjunction with the U.S. anti-war movement could force the U.S. government to pull back.

In fact, with some notable exceptions, steps have been taken in the other direction. In most areas, during the International Days of Protest, the Party had to be pulled kicking and screaming by its youth and the force of world events into the world-wide demonstrations. In some sections, like Ontario, the Party leadership deliberately attempted to prevent Party members from taking part in the protest by initiating a red-baiting campaign against the organization which built the demonstration.

Although response to the Vietnam crisis by our leaderships across the country has in some ways been varied, some general trends are evident which should be examined.

1. There has been opposition to engaging the Party in mass action. This was best reflected during the March 26th demonstrations where the Party leadership as a whole refused to take the lead in mobilizing its million and a half supporters to demonstrate their opposition to the war in the streets of Canadian cities.
2. There has been a tendency, most pronounced in the Ontario leadership, to begin to present a distorted view of the Party position on Vietnam. More and more the leaders of the Ontario section are referring to the Vietnam war as a war between China and the U.S. In a recent circular to riding associations, where the Ontario Provincial Executive warns members not to take part in the growing anti-war movement which it implies is controlled by Communists and Trotskyists, they state among other things (correctly listed) that the Party's Vietnam policy is based on "... refusing to take either the Chinese or American side in this national struggle ...". This is simply a weakened version of the U.S. State Department position which would have the world believe that the U.S. is defending itself against Chinese aggression. And yet many of our prominent spokesmen in Ontario, David Lewis, Jim Bury and George Cadbury have begun to put forward this position.
3. The leadership, again with some exceptions, notably W.H. Herridge, has declined from exposing the real role of the Canadian government as an accomplice in the genocidal attempt to crush a popular revolution. In doing this,

our leadership has ignored our policy on NATO and NORAD and refused to raise in Parliament facts about Canadian material complicity which have been reported in the capitalist press.

Summarizing then, despite some assertions to the contrary, the Party has not taken the initiative to organize against the war - at least the kind of initiative that counts. It does not want to get involved in mass action, has begun to push a softened version of the U.S. position and is silent about the criminal complicity of Nobel Prize winner Pearson and his friends.

Why this is happening is the question to be answered.

The answer is to be found not in the personal characteristics of our leadership but in their political reformism and consequently opportunism.

The Vietnam war is not being waged by a group of Madmen. Johnson, Pearson, Diefenbaker and their parties merely reflect and represent the economic forces within the capitalist system which need Koreas, Vietnams and Santo Domingos to maintain the stability of world capitalism. Thus to question the war is to question the system. To engage in militant action against the war is to implicitly question and objectively attack the system responsible for the war. It is no accident that a student leader of the U.S. movement against the war in a speech at the last March on Washington stated that the movement had to question, analyze and name the system responsible for the war.

It should come as no surprise then, that a leadership like our leadership committed, as they are, to the maintenance of a reformed capitalist system, finds it impossible to deal honestly and effectively with this war. It recoils from opposing sharply the foreign policy of a social system of which that policy is an integral part - a social system which they support.

Consequently, it begins to ignore facts like Canada's real role in Vietnam. It begins to accept the system's rationale about Chinese aggressiveness. It withdraws from mass action and the spontaneous reaction to this most objectionable feature of capitalism. And feeling threatened by the action of the Party rank and file who are not so committed to the system the leadership attacks leading elements at this level of the Party. All this is cloaked in the opportunist arguments often repeated, about the Party image, respectability, responsible action and the alienation of the voter - the rationale for the leadership's reformist politics.

Sincerity (and there can be little doubt that our leadership is sincere about its desire to see an end to the war) in the framework of an incorrect political position is of little consequence. The Party role on this question up to now, is proof of this. The rapid degeneration of Prime Minister Wilson to an apologist for this terrible crime against humanity shows to what lengths a specific political orientation can take an individual. Mr. Wilson, in his desire to maintain a revived British capitalism, has traded Vietnamese and American lives for the solvency of the British pound.

This outline demonstrates the necessity for a Socialist program and leadership in our Party. If the disturbing trends rapidly developing in the Party are to be halted, socialists in the NDP must organize to argue for the Socialist view - which, when adopted, will ensure the NDP a place in history as a political movement responsible for sweeping permanent social change, progress and peace.

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# THE WAY TO MOBILIZE PEOPLE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR ...

In the April 20th issue of the Commonwealth, a report is given on the Alberta anti-Vietnam war demonstration during the March 26th International Days of Protest. The article titled, "Protest Canadian Complicity, Impressive March in Edmonton Organized by Alberta Young New Democrats", illustrates what can be achieved when there is unity of action among all groups opposing the war. The article ends with a list of the participants:

"The demonstration was either endorsed or supported by fifteen organizations including the New Democratic Party, the Alberta Federation of Labor, the Edmonton and District Labor Council, the Calgary and District Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Red Deer Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Communist Party of Alberta, the Woodsworth Irvine Fellowship, the Student's Union for Peace Action, the Student's Christian Movement, the Voice of Women and the Alberta Young New Democrats."

## SPEAKING OUT AGAINST NATO

Scanning the issues of Hansard, it become obvious that, with the exception of W.H. Herridge, most of our NDP MP's are speechless when it comes to our NATO policy. Certainly our policy on this major issue should be stated unhesitatingly from a position of strength by all NDP MP's in the House. To carry a campaign in the House against NATO and NORAD would place our Party in the forefront of the struggle against the drift towards nuclear war and New Democrats should see that this is done by writing to members of our Parliamentary caucus urging them to argue our position along with Mr. Herridge.

From Hansard, Feb. 18, 1966:

W.H. Herridge (NDP MP-Kootenay West):

So as there is no misunderstanding as to what our policy is on this respect, I wish to quote what it is ...

I am going to refer to the program which was adopted at our Aug. 4/61 convention, at the Regina convention in Aug./63 and, of course, carried on to our last convention. This is what our program says:

"... The New Democratic Party believes that the extension of nuclear weapons to any further states and alliances threatens disaster to the world. It therefore opposes Canada's troops being supplied with such weapons at home or abroad.

"At present, except for those nations which have independently developed atomic capacity, neither NATO itself nor its members individually possess or control nuclear warheads. Should they do so, Canada must make it clear that it cannot remain in the alliance....

This is the position of this Party with respect to our continued support of NATO. I presume the Minister will agree that NATO is a nuclear power or component part. I see the Minister nods his head.

Paul Hellyer (Minister of Defense):

It is a nuclear-armed alliance.

Herridge (later):

Then we go on with the question of NORAD. I am quoting from the New Democratic Party program, Page 51 which reads as follows:

"It is questionable whether NORAD ever made any significant contribution to the defense of Canada and, in any case, it has outlived its usefulness. Furthermore, there is every danger that the Bomarc's will be equipped with nuclear warheads. The NORAD agreements should therefore be terminated."

This is the attitude of the New Democratic Party with respect to NORAD.



OYND EXECUTIVE SUSPENDS EIGHT

(At an April 24th meeting of the executive of the Ontario Young New Democrats, eight members of the OYND were suspended. Because of the importance of the youth to the maintenance and growth of the Party, the following report of the executive meeting and appeal of the suspended have been reprinted from the May 3rd issue of Left Report, a bulletin for the left-wing of the New Democratic Youth).

AN APPEAL

(The following statement was issued by the YNDers suspended by the Ontario YND executive)

At a Provincial Executive meeting April 24th, eight leading members of the Young New Democrats were arbitrarily suspended from all elected posts and policy making bodies of the YND.

The suspensions were carried out on the basis of a resolution passed at the previous Executive meeting, which threatened disciplinary action against any YND member who worked to build a united front march rather than a separate YND march on Ottawa, March 26.

We are specifically charged with refusing to sell tickets for the YND train and instead, selling tickets for the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The Executive made no attempt to inform any of us of their intentions prior to suspensions. We were given no hearing and no opportunity to defend ourselves against the false charges. The "evidence" was the flimsiest hearsay, compounded with cases of mistaken identity and outright falsifications. Despite the protest of two Executive members present, the majority of the Executive voted to suspend us.

It is clear that the Executive's action is a violation of our convention resolution regarding discipline. Despite our protest that we are innocent of the charge, we will not be allowed a formal hearing until the June 18-19th Provincial Council meeting by which time one-half of our sentence will be passed.

The Executive's irresponsible action must be condemned. As loyal members of the Young New Democrats, we feel that our membership has been treated in a less than serious manner. We are proud of our membership and the work we have done in the OYND. We are outraged that the Executive would so glibly ignore all the elementary democratic procedures of our organization.

The Executive must rescind the suspensions or lose all respect in the eyes of serious members.

One repercussion of these suspensions is that among the eight are included the entire leadership of the NDY campaign for political clubs in high schools. The suspensions come just when the campaign is experiencing success, just as the participants are receiving harassment from high school principals, and just as we are involving ever greater numbers of students in the campaign. Suddenly, we can no longer present ourselves as Young New Democrats, even though we have been named as such in the past in favourable newspaper reports. In the past few months, we have made great progress in the high school campaign. We successfully forced the Toronto Board of Education to grant us the right to form high school political clubs and made significant inroads into the North York campaign. We received for the YND, favourable

press coverage and are continuing to win recruits to the YND.

By carrying out these suspensions, the Executive has knowingly decapitated the high school campaign. It has cut itself off from a vast area of recruitment; it has flagrantly violated our convention decision to carry a vigorous high school campaign. If the executive views high school students as 'immature and irresponsible', it should keep its views to itself, for the view of the convention was the opposite.

Suspending the leadership of the high school campaign, for whatever reasons the Executive gives, means the Executive does not want a high school campaign. It means the Executive is not prepared to enforce the decisions of the convention.

Our convention also voted to work to build the anti-war movement. And the Executive with its vote for suspensions, has chopped off the leadership of one of the strongest sections of the anti-war movement, Students Against War in Vietnam. SAWV has been a fruitful area of work for the YND and has resulted in several new memberships. Now the Executive has suspended two leading activists in SAWV. The charge was that we sold co-ordinating committee tickets and refused to sell YND tickets, a most suspicious charge since our convention sent greetings to the conference at which the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee was founded. We voted to work with the co-ordinating committee to build a large march on Ottawa. And now the members who took the convention decision seriously and have worked to build a large movement against the genocidal war in Vietnam have lost their rights of membership.

It must also be noted that all of us are supporters of the left caucus. We have openly worked within the movement to promote a socialist program. We have worked as a loyal caucus in a democratic movement. But we have also consistently declared our opposition to the methods of the present YND leadership and have offered ourselves as an alternative leadership in elections. We feel this is the real reason for our suspension. The Executive, which holds a majority in the Young New Democrats, has used the phony ticket issue as a cover for stifling its opposition. It is violating every democratic procedure in doing so. It is moving counter to our program in doing so.

The OYND executive has shown once more that it cannot function within the bounds of a democratic movement, but must resort to undemocratic methods to eliminate its opposition. The Executive disagrees with our ideas, but will not deal with our ideas. The secret meeting, the preposterous charges, the fabricated evidence, are all part of a deeper political meaning. It has suspended eight members who are guilty only of enacting the program of the movement; working for high school and anti-war convention decisions with which some Executive members disagree, and loyalty to the YND.

Fellow members of the YND, we appeal to you to aid us in our fight to have our suspensions rescinded. We urge you to pass resolutions in your clubs denouncing the Executive's arbitrary action. We urge you to plead our case in your area councils. We are appealing to you because our democratic rights have been violated at the Executive level. We urge you to make sure that all your delegates are in attendance at the June 18-19 Provincial Council meeting so we can overrule the Executive's action. The democratic tradition of our movement must not be trampled at the whim of an Executive who does not understand how to deal with opposition in a democratic manner. In the interests of preserving the movement, we must stand up for our rights to act in accordance with our program.

Sue Claus, Joe Steinbok, Ken Wolfson, Dave Hudson, Joe Young, Jim Chisolm, Alex Chisolm, John Lederman.

THE APRIL 24th OYND EXECUTIVE MEETING

by Bob McCarthy, Treasurer of the OYND

Following is a report of the meeting at which the eight suspensions and other far-reaching restrictions were passed.

Present were President Gwennyth Emby, Vice-President Bill Dyer, Pat Canavan, Linda Hunter, Linda Tate, Jack Stole, Bill Lloyd, Hans Brown, Gary Porter and Robert McCarthy.

Federal Secretary Hans Brown, who was seated as an observer, began by introducing a motion clarifying the OYND Executive's view of the status of Youth-Party relations. The motion stated that the OYND would be permitted to pass motions at its councils and conventions; these would not be our program, however, the Party would decide whether to discard, modify or pass our resolutions. The program that the Party decided would then be the official youth program and the youth would not be permitted to use any other program in public, either in word or actions and that to do so would be a breach of discipline. This measure was admittedly designed to destroy the "separateness" of the youth; the majority of the Executive further agreed to surrender the processing of youth memberships to the Party if feasible.

Mr. Brown then read a motion regarding distribution on literature. A motion was passed stating that any public sale or distribution of any Communist or Trotskyist literature, or any literature of any organization the YND Executive thinks might be subordinates or auxiliaries of Communists or Trotskyists, by any OYND member, constitutes grounds for discipline of that member. This disciplinary action would apply within the YND and clubs for repeated distribution, but they did not define what they meant by 'repeatedly'. Due to lack of time, the Executive neglected to vote on a further suggestion by Mr. Brown that "repeated physical association with Communists or Trotskyists or with organizations the Executive thinks might be subordinate to the above, or repeated presence in the Vanguard Bookstore, shall be grounds for discipline and expulsion".

The discussion moved on to ticket sales for the Ottawa march. Several Executive members recalled the names of twelve people they had watched distributing "subversive" literature in the past (although at the time this was not illegal). A motion to discipline these people on the basis of the motion just passed restricting literature distribution, retroactively, was defeated by a 5-4 vote.

A previous OYND Executive meeting passed a resolution threatening disciplinary action against all OYND members who co-operated to build the March on Ottawa with local co-ordinating committees, instead of remaining completely separate. It was protested that this resolution directly violated the OYND convention decision to join together for a more effective march. However, the Executive used this resolution to justify disciplinary action against eight members for selling co-ordinating committee train tickets instead of YND tickets. These eight members were suspended from all elected office, delegateships and official status for three months. Suspension was carried out with no prior warning and with no opportunity for the accused to appear and defend themselves against the frequently false, hearsay presented by Mr. Canavan and Miss Hunter. Thus, only OYND treasurer, Bob McCarthy was present to disprove similar false charges levelled against himself by Mr. Canavan.



The Executive then passed a further resolution regarding anti-war activities: "Future anti-war initiatives are a Provincial and Federal matter, not a club or individual Executive member's prerogative. Therefore the OYND Executive reaffirms its opposition to united front activities with organizations not officially endorsed by the Provincial and Federal YND. Anti-war activity will be through these independent, or parallel but independent YND activities specifically sanctioned by the Federal or Provincial Executive of the YND".

OYND president, Gwen Emby indicated later over the telephone she thought this regulation might be interpreted, though she left this open, to prohibit any Executive member at any level from participating in any non-NDY anti-war committee, on pain of discipline or expulsion.

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Editor's Note: The Hamilton Seminar on NDY-NDP Relations May 7-8 voted to ask the executive to immediately drop all the charges against the eight suspended and restore their full rights of membership. An amendment to replace the word "drop" with "review" was defeated as the majority of those present at the Seminar felt there was nothing to review; the executive had acted irresponsibly and should back down unequivocally. The executive meeting the following day did in fact drop all the charges against the eight.

In discussions at the seminar, when several of the suspended presented their cases, it became transparently clear the suspensions constituted a political reprisal and were based entirely on fabricated evidence. After these facts were exposed, the executive had no choice but to rescind the suspensions or appear entirely irresponsible in the eyes of the members.

At the actual executive meeting, the vote was by no means unanimous and certain executive members called for more far-reaching disciplinary action. However, the defeat of this first attempt to move against left-wing activists in the YND must be viewed as a substantial victory for democracy in the NDY. It is a clear example of how the membership, when presented with all the facts, will not allow its executive to operate in violation of convention decisions.

Read:

#### LEFT REPORT

A Bulletin for the Left Wing of  
the New Democratic Youth.

Address: Left Report  
c/o Ian Angus, Editor  
361 Clinton Street  
Toronto 4, Ontario

LEFT REPORT is designed to facilitate continuing communication within the left of the YND. LEFT REPORT invites YND left wingers to send reports of activities and debates in their area.

LETTERS

For the practical approach -

Dear Sir:

In Canada today, the word socialism is anathema to most people, including members of the NDP.

Those of us who are trying to build a socialist society should face the enormity of the problem and realize that we must separate long-term goals from short-term ones if we wish to achieve our ideals.

Our most immediate goal is to convince the Party leadership that the main obstacle to the NDP is not socialism but the "free enterprise" system. I believe that this is a more urgent matter than the war in Vietnam or other international issues.

We can work towards this primary goal by becoming indispensable in our riding associations. Anyone who has been active in the Party knows that only a few, dedicated people work on a year-round basis. By volunteering one's time, money and talents, a member can gain the opportunity to affect policy. By canvassing and serving on committees, one can meet fellow members and discuss one's views. One need not lose sight of basic principles to become a helpful and valuable riding worker.

This is a more constructive approach than some of our previous actions which have antagonized too many people. I refer to haranguing people with long speeches, quibbling at great length, refusing to compromise over minor details, holding up meetings by introducing emergency motions shortly before adjournment and presenting resolutions which are so extreme or so impracticable that they are impossible to implement. These actions have caused people to consider us troublemakers, and have done nothing to increase our influence.

We have reason and history on our side. Let us use self-discipline and common sense to get our ideas across in the Party.

George Goldberg,  
President - St. Paul's NDP (Toronto)

Support for the Socialist Caucus

Dear Friends:

We feel that it is imperative that the left organize to influence the NDP in a socialist direction. We, therefore, welcome the formation of a nation-wide socialist caucus.

We are especially interested in your emphasis on the struggle against American escalation in Vietnam and your attempt to arouse mass concern among New Democrats. Many of us in this riding were concerned that the issue of a nuclear war was not placed directly and honestly before the electorate in the Federal election. This was a moral and political mistake. The escalation of the Vietnam war is of grave concern to larger and larger layers of people and they will turn to the only Party that has taken a stand on this life and death question.

Here in our Riding of North York, adult members, both on the Executive and from the rank and file, worked closely with the youth group on the 26th of March demonstration project. We distributed the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam call to the march in numerous plazas and made an extensive phoning to get

participation or ask for donations. Student representatives in high schools discussed Vietnam and sold tickets. The result of this combined activity was very gratifying. We sold 53 YND tickets for the Ottawa demonstration. We have now sent out T.C. Douglas's speech on Vietnam plus the resolutions on Vietnam and China passed at the Federal Convention to all members of the riding.

In order to build a Party which will stand for social justice in our country and throughout the world, we must have full freedom of discussion at the grass roots, without fear of red-baiting so that majority decisions at the grass roots, may be arrived at in a truly democratic manner.

B. Bryant,  
A. Arnot (North York, Richmond  
Hill

### Socialist Caucus strengthens the Party

Dear Sir:

Blessings upon the formation of a Socialist Caucus within the New Democratic Party. I know there are New Democrats who feel such a development may "split" or "seriously weaken" the Party. On the contrary, this development can only educate, unify and strengthen the Party in every way.

I have placed the words "split" and "seriously weaken" in quotation marks since these words are rarely defined by those who use them as applied to the Party. Surely, those who suggest this will happen have a duty to spell out exactly what they mean and in what way they apply to the development of a left formation within the Party. I would also expect that the left would be under the same obligation were it in the majority, to explain such words if use by them, as applied to a minority right-wing caucus.

If statements and opinions are not fully explained and debated such views become merely devices playing upon the emotions - notably those of fear. Minorities are particularly vulnerable to such attacks and individuals even more so.

Party minorities in the other hand cannot use such devices. In order to gain support for their views they must, at all times, base their argumentation upon all the facts and the logic of a situation, however complex, while imposing a reasoned interpretation on the entire situation. To do otherwise would destroy them as a serious force. They would be dissipated with no opportunity to get their point of view adopted.

If, however, the Socialist Caucus achieved wide-spread support for its views, the only "split" would likely be in the formation of a new minority possibly of the right whose task it would be within the Party to argue for reinstatement of its position. The only "weakening" which would take place would be the positions of members who no longer really represented the aspirations of the members. They would probably not be re-elected to their former positions.

In actual fact a "split" or "weakening" is only real in the sense that new policies, formulated at Party convention could be so distasteful to some individuals that they would not wish to be identified with them and so would leave the Party.

All of the above appears to me to be quite normal within a democratic organization and is, in fact, the source of the inner strength of such an organization. It seems to me the most proper procedure, imaginable, to debate openly and fully all



matters of vital concern, adopt a policy for the Party as well as measures for the implementation of such policies and finally to elect leaders which best represent these policies and the Party.

To my way of thinking, caucuses are part of such a process especially open caucuses. It is to be hoped that the Socialist Caucus would play a vital role in upcoming conventions in the direction of challenging our leaders to responsible and reasonable debate with the left minority, to the end that whatever opinions prevail, the Party will nevertheless, more accurately reflect the views of its members. This development would be a strength and not a weakness. The Socialist Caucus would then have played a most vital part in furthering not only its own views but the tested views of all segments of the Party.

Surely our present leaders have sufficient confidence in their position that they would welcome opportunities to debate their views and policies - not only in order to inform members but to stimulate whole-hearted support for their leadership, while at the same time injecting needed vitality into the Party and providing a new dimension to the concept of democracy.

I believe in the necessity of the New Democratic Party. I believe in its goals. I also believe in the right of everyone to assist in the further amplification of these goals which can never remain static - but must grow and develop as the Party itself must grow and develop - for not to do so is to die.

Don Oman, High Park, Toronto.

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#### IMPORTANT ANTI-WAR LITERATURE

"The American presence in Vietnam and the undeclared war being waged there by the United States constitutes one of the most blatant acts of aggression the world has seen since the destruction of Hitler's Third Reich."

- Author, Farley Mowat

READ the complete text of this statement given to 1,000 people at a Feb. 19th Conference on Canada's role in Vietnam in Toronto.

AND ... JUST OFF THE PRESS ...

The complete text of a Speech by Prof. James Steele of York University given to the same conference outlining Canada's real and hidden role on the International Control Commission in Vietnam.

Order now at 25¢ per copy from -

The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam,  
c/o Rev. A. Fowlie,  
25 Devondale Ave.,  
Willowdale, Ont.

# A REMINDER

THIS ISSUE OF THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS  
BULLETIN AND THOSE TO FOLLOW ARE  
FINANCED BY YOUR DONATIONS,

The last bulletin found a very wide response, so we are increasing  
our press run once again. This will permit us to reach more NDPers  
than ever before, but it also means that we need more money. The  
average cost per issue is now \$45.00 .

Contribute to the development of a socialist NDP through the bulletin  
by sending your donation immediately to:

SOCIALIST CAUCUS BULLETIN  
BOX 872. STATION F  
TORONTO

June 26, 1966  
Box 872, Station F  
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Ontario Reader of the Socialist Caucus Bulletin:

Enclosed, please find a list of resolutions prepared by a number of caucus supporters in preparation for the October NDP Provincial Convention in Niagara Falls.

No doubt you are aware that the circulation of such a list is late since the deadline set by the Party for resolutions to the Convention is July 14th. As a result, a number of constituencies by this time have had their resolution meetings.

Caucus supporters in the Toronto Area have not discussed or taken a position on the enclosed resolutions. However, we are circulating them to you, we hope, in time to aid you in your own preparation for submission of resolutions. Thank you,

Fraternally,

Don Oman, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Toronto Area Socialist Caucus.

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#### M E E T I N G   N O T I C E

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The next meeting of the Toronto Area Socialist Caucus will be held on  
TUESDAY, JULY 5                      at 8:00 p.m. in the NORTH ROOM                      of the Westbury  
Hotel. Caucus supporters in the Toronto area or beyond are welcome. Suggested agenda:

1. Preparations for the Aug. 6th International Days of Protest against the War in Vietnam.
2. Further preparations for the Ontario NDP Convention.
3. Elections to fill in remaining executive and bulletin committee positions.

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The following are resolutions or summaries of resolutions submitted by bulletin readers in Davenport, Spadina, St. Pauls, York West, Scarboro Centre, York North and High Park Riding Associations.

#### Vietnam

Whereas the continued escalation of the Vietnam war each day brings closer the possibility of a world-wide nuclear war,  
Whereas recent demonstrations in South Vietnam show that the vast majority of the Vietnamese oppose the presence of U.S. troops,  
Whereas it is now clear and documented that the Canadian Government behind a "peace" facade is materially aiding the U.S. military aggression in Vietnam,



Whereas in the face of the intensification of the war and the development of a large militant anti-war movement, our Party has given only token opposition to the war,

Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP call for:

- 1) The immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam to allow the Vietnamese to govern their own affairs,
- 2) An immediate end to Canadian complicity in Vietnam through withdrawal from NATO and an embargo on goods and services for the U.S. war effort,
- 3) A determined effort by all sections of the NDP to join with all those opposing the war in an effort to build a broadly-based mass movement against U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

### Economy

- 1) Resolve to nationalize the banks and insurance companies operating in Ontario.  
(Resolution refers to the Province of Ontario Savings Bank).

- 2) Whereas the needs of the people of Ontario are not being adequately met by the application of private enterprise in the public utilities field,  
Be it resolved that the ONDP press for the nationalization of such public utilities as natural gas and telephone.

- 3) Whereas the telephone service in Ontario is owned by the Privately-owned monopoly Bell Telephone;

Whereas the present practice of "profit limiting" by the Board of Transport Commissioners has proven a fiasco since the "reasonable profit" outlined in 1958 has been surpassed by \$38,000,000,

And whereas the Board of Transport solution to this violation was to sanction it by raising the "reasonable profit" to 6.6%,

And whereas it would be inconsistent with the aims of the NDP to allow the working public to be gouged for the use of a vital public service which should be organized and run to meet the needs and budgets of Ontario citizens,

Therefore be it resolved that the Ontario NDP call for the Nationalization of the Bell Telephone under the democratic control of the workers and citizens of Ontario in order to institute a program of lower rates in conjunction with necessary technological advancement.

- 4) Whereas the absurdity and injustice of having a vital industry like the railways, owned privately, has been proven over and over by the continued necessity of the CPR to place the accumulation of profits over the transportation needs of the Canadian people,

Whereas a great deal of the CPR fortune has resulted from subsidies from the public purse and land grants from the government,

Whereas many organizations have recognized that the people would be better served if the CPR was publicly run in conjunction with the CNR (among them, the National Farmers Union and The B.C. and Alberta sections of the NDP),

Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP call for the Nationalization of the CPR under the democratic control of the workers through elected management committees.

- 5) Be it resolved that the NDP press for a minimum wage of \$2.00 to be increased if the cost of living rises.

- 6) Be it resolved that the NDP press for Nationalization of our primary and secondary industries.

- 7) Be it resolved that the NDP press for the Province and Ottawa to assume a greater share of the costs of education, welfare and health, instead of passing these costs on to the municipalities.

Housing

- 1) Resolve for the NDP to eliminate slum landlordism by nationalizing all slum holdings.
- 2) Whereas the "housing question" in Ontario municipalities is a consistent and increasing problem due to unconcerned municipal government, slum landlords and land speculators,  
Whereas despite the many studies and reports, the housing problem remains in crisis proportions with lack of adequate low rental accommodation,  
Whereas a problem of this magnitude requires more than adjustments of by-laws but more fundamental solutions,  
Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP attack the housing problem by:
  - 1) Taking the lead in the formation of citizens' housing and rent committees to conduct mass action against the slum lords and municipal governments,
  - 2) Arm these committees with a program calling for a rent ceiling of 10% for average incomes, scaled down for lower incomes;  
expropriation of dwellings defying this ceiling and a massive program of attractive, family-oriented public housing.

Party Publications

- 1) Be it resolved that the New Democrat be based on a forum basis, inviting readership participation in the form of articles, letters, different points of view, etc.
- 2) Resolved that the New Democrat provide for expression for all shades of opinion within the Party,  
And further resolved that a Newspaper for general distribution to the public be made available.

The Consumer

- 1) Whereas the continuing spiralling cost of living places an unbearable burden on the majority of Ontario citizens,  
Whereas it is the manipulations of the industrialists which result in rising prices,  
Whereas government-operated price review boards provide no solution, since in practice, they function to sanction or ignore price hikes,  
And whereas the cost of living is an issue, which, if developed, could involve hundreds of thousands of workers, housewives, farmers, students in active support of our Party,  
Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP:  
Take the initiative in organizing consumer committees of workers, students, housewives and farmers which, knowing the productive process from one end to the other, could collaborate to expose the price manipulations and bring mass pressure to bear against the rising cost of living.

### The Consumer (continued)

- 2) Be it resolved that the ONDP support the drive for escalator clauses in union contracts pegged to the cost of living index as determined by appropriate workers' committees.

### Automation

- 1) Whereas research by the ONDP and the OFL indicates that automation is rapidly increasing its influence in the Ontario economy,  
Whereas this process, despite the present boom represents a lessening of job security for Ontario workers,  
Whereas with the reduction in the amount of labor time needed per unit of production, the problem is the provision of an adequate number of jobs, not retraining for obsolete ones,  
Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP call for the progressive reduction of the work-week with no reduction in pay, beginning with the call for a 30-hour-week with no pay reduction.

### The Party Constitution and Procedure

- 1) Be it resolved that NDP candidates for public office must be members of the Party 12 months prior to the respective riding nominating convention,
- 2) Be it resolved that a New Democrat editorial board be established,  
Be it further resolved that the Board be made up of 20 Provincial Executive members whose duties shall include the publication of the New Democrat, its philosophy, format and employment of its staff,  
Be it further resolved that the Board meet at least every two months to change the philosophy of the paper as determined by the views of its readership.
- 3) Be it resolved that the Provincial Executive shall meet upon the call of the leader or any able officer at least once a month.
- 4) Be it resolved that the Provincial Executive be expanded by the addition of 15 members to be elected from the floor of the Provincial Convention.
- 5) Be it resolved that the Youth section of the NDP be a completely autonomous organization.
- 6) Be it resolved that the NDP women's committee be dissolved and women accepted into the present bodies of the Party as equals.

### Municipal Politics

- 1) Whereas the key to a strong political party with a mass, active, loyal membership is the sinking of firm roots into the local politics,  
Whereas this can best be done by the Party's intervention into municipal politics,  
Whereas much of our present program, combined with our present urban support and the support of the trade union movement can assure us dramatic success in forming municipal governments if we present ourselves as a serious force under the Party name, ready to take municipal government out of the hands of big business,  
Therefore be it resolved that the Ontario NDP adopt a policy of running for municipal government throughout Ontario with full slates under the party label;  
And be it further resolved that as a first step towards implementing this policy,



## Municipal Politics (continued)

The Party contest the Toronto municipal elections this December.

### Health

- 1) A series on health suggested,
  - medicare program to emphasize preventive medicine
  - public birth control clinics
  - unqualified legalized abortion
  - divorce at the request of one party
  - old age pension at 50 scaled to the cost of living
  - guaranteed annual income of \$4000 per year
  - public ownership of all hospitals

### Education

- 1) A series on education suggested,
  - upgrading of program five to include post secondary education
  - faculty city colleges with no tuition or fixed admission requirements
  - abolition of religion in schools
  - sex education in Grade One
  - 12 years of compulsory public schooling
  - abolition of Ontario Board of film censors to be replaced with a non-censoring film classification board
  - costs of education to be shifted to large industrial concerns rather than the small home owner.

### Other International

- 1) Whereas people are dying in Vietnam,  
Be it resolved that the ONDP call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and all other supporting foreign troops from Vietnam.
- 2) Be it resolved that the ONDP press for a boycott against importation of South African goods to Canada.
- 3) Be it resolved that the Ontario NDP press our federal government for the withdrawal of Canada from Nato and Norad and for the removal of nuclear weapons from Canada.

### Labour

- 1) Whereas it is clear that the Provincial and Federal governments are working hand-in-glove with the major employees to curtail and render ineffective unions through the use of injunctions, compulsory arbitration, direct government intervention and anti-labour propaganda in the news media,  
Whereas this attack on labour is a direct violation of the rights of workers to bargain as a group on an equal basis with the employer - meaning the workers' right to strike,  
Therefore be it resolved that the ONDP stand opposed to any form of government intervention through Parliament or the courts in the bargaining process,  
And be it further resolved that the ONDP express solidarity with the labour movement in its struggle against this legislative anti-union attack recognizing the necessity of many forms of struggle, including mass civil disobedience.

### Fixed incomes

- 1) Be it resolved that the NDP take the initiative in the organization of persons on fixed incomes (pensioners, etc.) so that they can effectively fight for their own interests.
- 2) Be it resolved that persons on fixed incomes be given a standard of living equal to a living at the current union rates and that this income rise with the cost of living.

## A SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The solution to the problems facing the working people of Canada is to be found in the establishment of a true political and economic democracy whereby the basic means of production and distribution and all our natural resources, shall be publicly owned and controlled by the people of Canada. Hand in hand with this new approach to economic and political democracy should go a new approach to the problems of war and peace. With these basic principles as our guide, we propose the following Socialist program for an NDP -- workers and farmers -- government:

- 1) Canadian withdrawal from all military alliances, particularly NATO and NORAD
- 2) Active support for the national liberation struggle in Africa, Latin America, Asia and throughout the world. Consistent public opposition to the attempts of world imperialism and particularly U.S. imperialism to crush revolutionary movements for national independence and social justice.
- 3) Support for the French Canadian nation's search for its self determination, not excluding its possible desire for separation from Canadian Confederation.
- 4) Public ownership of all monopolies and foreign-owned industries, including the entire armaments and transport and communications industries and the planned development of secondary industries. The operation of those industries to be managed by the workers themselves, through their own committees.
- 5) Public ownership of all financial institutions, including banks, insurance and loan companies.

We also propose certain minimum steps which must be taken now in order to deal with immediate needs -- demands which should be immediately adopted by the NDP and which should provide a rallying point for all progressives.

### AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

- 1) Planned development of important Canadian durable and non-durable manufacturing industries under public ownership i.e. lumber-paper, mining, pharmaceutical.
- 2) To meet the challenge of automation and place the burden of technological improvements on capital, not the workers, we propose:
  - (a) the establishment of a six hour day and a thirty hour week, without any reduction in take-home pay.
  - (b) that in the face of inflationary rises in the cost of living, as reflected by the Consumer Price Index, which rose 3.5% last year, and is expected by government spokesmen to rise 4.0% this year (1966), far exceeding hard won wage increases, the NDP must solidarize with the trade union militants' demands for an escalator clause in all collective agreements, allowing for an automatic increase in wages, salaries and pensions, in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods, over and above existing negotiated wage rates.
  - (c) Calculation of the cost of living and of the correspondingly necessary wage levels is not to be left up to government boards, which generally serve the employers' interests, but to workers' committees set up by the trade unions and farmers' organizations themselves.
- 3) \$2.25 per hour minimum wage with guaranteed increases to match increases in cost of living.
- 4) Revision of the Unemployment Insurance Act to cover all workers and to provide adequate benefits covering the entire period of unemployment, and the general upward revision of insurance benefits to equal wages normally earned at union rates of pay.
- 5) Guaranteed income under all circumstances i.e. sickness, unemployment.
- 6) A federally run medicare scheme covering all facets of physical, mental and dental health care encompassing guaranteed income feature.
- 7) Guarantee of jobs to young Canadians leaving school; and failing this, extension of the Unemployment Insurance Act to provide coverage to this group while unemployed.
- 8) Legislation of a mandatory four week holiday with pay after one year of employment.
- 9) Unilateral disarmament for Canada.



(2)

- 10) Universal free education, including technical-vocational, college and university. Provision of adequate maintenance allowances for those attending institutions of higher learning.
- 11) Legislation precluding arbitrary political, racial, social or economic discrimination either, direct or indirect, against any individual or group. Repeal of any law that runs counter to this principle. In particular women's rights with regard to her status as cheap labour, her role as captive consumer, and her inferior position in the educational process.
- 12) Mandatory annual public financial statements of all enterprises both public and private, with provision for criminal proceedings in case of evasion.

#### AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

- 1) A PLANNED ECONOMY with the nationalization of Bell Telephone Company in Ontario, the drug industry and the Canadian Pacific Railway and the running democratically of these industries through the institution of workers' control.
- 2) (a) OPPOSE ALL INJUNCTIONS in labour disputes and support the right of the labour movement to participate in civil disobedience in the struggle against anti-social and unjust labour laws.  
(b) OPPOSE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION for any sector of the work force and oppose interference by any level of government in the right to strike.  
(c) ESTABLISH THE SIX HOUR DAY and the THIRTY HOUR WEEK without any reduction in take home pay.  
(d) \$2.25 PER HOUR MINIMUM WAGE with guaranteed increases to match increases in cost of living.
- 3) FORM CITIZENS CONSUMER PROTECTIVE COMMITTEES for investigation of prices, standards and quality, based on housewives, trade unionists, teachers and other members of the community with power to demand access to company financial reports.
- 4) FORM CITIZENS RENT AND HOUSING COMMITTEES around the following points:
  - maximum of 10% of family income to go for rent or purchase of home.
  - implementation of decent housing laws and expropriation of landlords who fail to comply
  - massive public housing campaign
  - cities to be planned with the needs of the people in mind and expropriation of essential land areas.
- 5) RATIONALIZE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION including the principle of eliminating fare collection in favour of general taxation subsidies.
- 6) AN NDP GOVERNMENT IN EVERY MUNICIPALITY with an elected committee of the Ontario party to co-ordinate and aid campaigns throughout the province.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS THE CONCERN OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL  
AT EVERY LEVEL OF OUR PARTY -- WE MUST ACT NOW!

"At this critical hour of human history -- silence is criminal!" T.C. DOUGLAS, Aug'66  
The issue of Vietnam cannot be sloughed off as belonging only to the federal section of our party. The NDP at every level, from the riding association to our MP's in Ottawa must speak out. The threat of destruction becomes more and more dangerous as each day passes and the American State Department comes closer and closer to war with China. The party must undertake a campaign immediately -- to END THE WAR NOW!

WITHDRAW US TROOPS! END CANADIAN COMPLICITY!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!

.....

\* MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS IS NOT  
CONDITIONAL UPON COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH  
THIS PROGRAM

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:  
Socialist Caucus  
P.O. Box 872, Station "F"  
Toronto, Ontario



# ONDP MUST MOBILIZE THE COMMUNITY TO TAKE POWER IN ONTARIO

## Program of the Ontario Socialist Caucus

Ontario is a province of tremendous resources; heavily populated and heavily industrialized. Yet it suffers from large areas of depression, backwardness and poverty. The province has been the private preserve of the Tories for many years now and it's time for a change. Under their tutelage the labor movement is staggering under injunctions; under their patronage we have a medical scheme that nowhere nearly solves the health problems of the people in this province; the consumer is being taken for a ride by the sales tax while church property remains untaxed and industry gets special concessions. People are living on hamburger because of the price of meat and the housing problem is monumental. The school system is loaded to the gills with the "conservative" philosophy.

The situation is ripe, people are looking for a solution to their difficulties and the New Democratic Party must have the answers. At this convention we are charged with the task of determining a program, but this is not the only job. We must gain a new outlook, the outlook of growth. While our party has been gaining in voting strength, it has been stagnating internally. The riding constituencies are mere shells, most of them gathering twice a year to elect a new executive or to launch a fund drive.

The perspective for the party must be bold -- dynamic -- aggressive! It must be the perspective of wresting control from the Tories and placing it in the hands of the working people and farmers of this province. In order to do this we must build a base in our communities. Have we attempted in any way to mobilize our neighbours into action -- action against the cost of living, the anti-labor laws, the sales tax? We must set up consumer committees, we must take the NDP into the trade unions and make it their party, we must build our party in every way possible. One of the most important ways is through municipal elections. We must mobilize the thousands of people who vote for us provincially and federally to elect NDP governments in the towns and cities of Ontario.

Now is the time to launch a dynamic and systematic educational and propagandistic campaign based on a total critique of the Conservative regime and their ~~class~~ twin, the Liberal Party. The social and political consequences of their domination of life in Ontario must be brought home.

The Ontario Socialist Caucus presents its program here -- a program that proceeds from the premise that what is required is fundamental social change, that is, the eradication of capitalism and the institution of a socialist state. We believe that the pre-convention discussion papers are totally inadequate and unrealistic in the face of the pressing problems of the people of this province and that the program presented here is a step in the right direction.

.....

- 1) A PLANNED ECONOMY with the nationalization of Bell Telephone Company in Ontario, the drug industry and the Canadian Pacific Railway and the running democratically of these industries through the institution of workers control.
- 2) (a) OPPOSE ALL INJUNCTIONS in labor disputes and support the right of the labor movement to participate in civil disobedience in the struggle against anti-social and unjust labor laws.

.....

- (b) OPPOSE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION for any sector of the work force and oppose interference by any level of government in the right to strike.
  - (c) ESTABLISH THE SIX HOUR DAY and the THIRTY HOUR WEEK, without any reduction in take home pay.
  - (d) \$2.25 HOURLY MINIMUM WAGE with guaranteed increases to match increases in cost of living.
- (3) FORM CITIZENS CONSUMER PROTECTIVE COMMITTEES for investigation of prices, standards and quality, based on housewives, trade unionists, teachers and other general members of the community, with power to demand access to company financial reports.
- 4) FORM CITIZENS RENT AND HOUSING COMMITTEES around the following points:
- maximum of 10% of family income to go for rent or purchase of home.
  - implementation of decent housing laws and expropriation of landlords who fail to comply.
  - massive public housing campaign
  - expropriation of essential land areas for better housing and planning
- 5) RATIONALIZE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION including the principle of the elimination of fare collection in favour of general taxation subsidies.
- 6) AN NDP GOVERNMENT IN EVERY MUNICIPALITY with an elected committee of the Ontario party to co-ordinate and aid campaigns throughout the province.
- 7) VIETNAM -- The war in Vietnam is a concern of every citizen and is a contributing factor in inflation. The Ontario section should undertake a campaign of action on this question and mobilize support of our MP's in Parliament to speak out against the war.

.....

This program, in point form, re-inforces the character of the New Democratic Party, that of a labor party. This program presents the demands necessary for the defense and advancement of the rights of the workers and working farmers of this province. The task now is to rejuvenate our party, to make it a fighting machine, not an electoral machine. The important battles are not fought in Queen's Park, but in the community associations, on the school boards, in the farmers' organizations, in the unions and on the picket lines.

We can't be arm-chair, ivory-tower socialists. We must bring the issues to the people, where they live, where they work, where they play. The program of the socialist caucus is only an outline of what really has to be done in this province, but it provides a framework, a direction to the only forces capable of changing this society -- the members of the New Democratic Party.

For the full Ontario Socialist Caucus program, write to; Box 872 Station F Toronto or drop in to room # at this hotel during the convention.

# socialist caucus bulletin

An unofficial bulletin published by members  
of the New Democratic Party dedicated to  
winning the NDP to a socialist program.

NO. 6

JULY '66

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DEADLINE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE NEXT ISSUE--- SEPT. 5th, 1966

Other Socialist Caucus Publications

- 1) Federal caucus program
- 2) May 28th Vietnam speech by T.C. Douglas to the House of Commons
- 3) Reprint of New Democrat Attack on the caucus and the caucus reply
- 4) Reply to the ONDP Vietnam circular by the Toronto Area Socialist Caucus

"MANIFEST FOR ALBERTA SOCIALISTS" price 25¢ a copy

Available now from

Colwyn Williamson  
Publications Editor Alberta  
Socialist Caucus  
11145 - 90 Ave.  
Edmonton, Alberta

WORK TO MOBILIZE NEW DEMOCRATS FOR THE AUG. 6 - 9

INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

By the Editors

In response to a call from the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in New York, the committee which organized 50,000 people for the March 26 International Days of Protest; Aug. 6-9 has become the next International Days of Protest against American policy in Vietnam.

The dates which include the anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are fitting ones to build further the world-wide opposition to the present genocidal aggression by the United States against the Vietnamese people.

Since the last issue of the bulletin, two short months ago, the position of the U.S. Government has been totally exposed. The brutal armed suppression of demonstrations and revolts by the people in the cities of South Vietnam by the troops of fascist-minded dictator Ky, backed by U.S. fire power, have torn the last shreds of covering from the lie that U.S. troops are in Vietnam to fight for the freedom of the Vietnamese. The bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong demonstrate that the U.S. Government, military and corporate elite will risk the destruction of the human race in a nuclear war in order to suppress this popular social revolution.

Also exposed is the position of the Canadian Government, Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin. With Canadian arms manufacturers reaping the profits from the chemicals which reduce Vietnamese children to bubbling masses, the Liberal government dared to make the pretense of "disagreement" with the recent escalation only a few days after Mr. Martin, in response to Soviet diplomat Polyansky's attack on the U.S., defended U.S. aggression and war crimes all down the line.

Yet our party still has not used its resources and prestige to help build the anti-war movement in Canada. Still the NDP has fostered the illusion that Canada is playing the role of peace-maker. Still our party continues to support the nuclear alliance NATO -- the alliance which makes Canada an integral part of the U.S. world-wide system of policing and suppression. We have made the record in Hansard at times with hard hitting works - but nothing more. The party has failed to take the issue off Parliament Hill to the people who in hundreds of thousands oppose the war. This could be done through door to door literature distributions, mass meetings in public halls and parks and tours of party leaders. An effort like this by our party could effectively mobilize thousands of people into committees against the war and Canadian complicity. Such activity on the grass roots level could begin to put tremendous pressure against Pearson's pro-war policy.

In our opinion, New Democrats should do all they can, to see that our leadership takes a leading hand in the Aug. 6-9 protest and should take the initiative as they did in the March 26 International Days of Protest to make the Aug. 6 demonstrations an effective expression of Canadian opinion demanding an end to Canadian complicity and U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Action is already under way

Information on hand indicates that the Canadian contribution to the international protest will be even greater than the last one. Demonstrations will take place in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Red Deer, Regina, Sarnia, London, Welland, Niagara Falls, Toronto, Windsor, Montreal and St. John. In all these demonstrations, New Democrats will play a leading role. An indication of what is happening is contained in a note from Roy Swift of the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam:

"At a recent meeting of the ECEWV, it was decided that as a body we will actively support the IDP Aug. 6-9. To do this we are contacting for support, Church groups, unions and other peace-minded organisations.

We have established liason with the 5th Ave. Peace Parade Committee and

indicated to them that we will support this international effort. Tentative plans have been made to commemorate Hiroshima Day with a March to the downtown area. It is significant that the Voice of Women are now taking an active stand on this issue and will hold a vigil at the Dow Chemical plant at Ft. Saskatchewan and have called for support. The Dow Chemical Company, as you know, manufactures component chemicals for the NAPALM bombs being used in Vietnam."

Cross-Country Co-ordination on Aug. 6-9

In contrast to the March 26 protest, this one will be more co-ordinated. This development is primarily due to the success of a publication called the Canada Vietnam Newsletter. It began publication shortly after the March 26 March on Ottawa. At the march, a discussion among anti-war activists from across the country gave rise to the newsletter which is produced by members of the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The feeling that there was a need for communication and co-ordination among anti-war groups across Canada was born out by the success of the first two issues of the bulletin. The third issue is now serving to co-ordinate activities across the country.

Members of the editorial board are Ken Warren, Jeff White and Peter Mix, all NDP members; Gil Levine, National Publicity Director of the Canadian Union of Public Employees and Ed Finn, Editor of Canadian Transport, the organ of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

In your area to find out about the Aug. 6-9 protest  
Contact:

Vancouver: University of BC Vietnam Day Committee, Box 143 UBC, C/O AMS  
Vancouver 8, B.C.  
Edmonton: The Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam  
Box 3501, Edmonton, Alta  
Regina: Regina Vietnam Committee, C/O J.Hogg 3630 Argyle Rd. Regina, Sask  
Toronto: University Committee to End the War in Vietnam  
C/O Colleen Levis, 54 the Queensway, Toronto 3  
Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam  
Bathurst Street United Church, 736 Bathurst St. Toronto  
Welland: Rev. Robert Wright, 151 Plymouth Rd., Welland  
St. Catherines: Bill Cousintine, 243 Russel Ave., St. Catherines Ont.  
London: Committee for Peace in Vietnam, C/O George Addison  
Box 601, Station "B", London, Ont.  
Hamilton: Prof. Ajzenstat, Dept. of Philosophy, McMaster University  
Sarnia: Zona Hollingsworth, 1948 Orchard Ave., (Bright's Grove) Sarnia, Ont  
Windsor: Windsor Committee for Justice in Vietnam  
C/O Ron Dearing, 1870 Cadillac, Windsor, Ont.  
Peterborough: Doug Berry, 192 Rubidge, Peterborough  
Montreal: R.M. Griffith, #604 1000 Ave., Outremont, Quebec  
Ottawa: Canada Vietnam Newsletter, Box 2352, Station "D" Ottawa, Ont.

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The Canadian Voice of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement

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The Canada Vietnam Newsletter  
Box 2352, Station "D", Ottawa, Ontario



## ALBERTA SOCIALIST CAUCUS FORMED

By the Editors

The development of the socialist forces in the New Democratic Party took an inspiring step forward with the formation of the Alberta Socialist Caucus June 3, 1966. The meeting in Edmonton with 25 in attendance launched the caucus whose purpose is to fight for a socialist program in the New Democratic Party. Membership is open to all Socialists prepared to work for and in the NDP.

Since the original meeting the caucus has met and adopted a manifesto and program. Reprinted in this issue of the bulletin is the programmatic portion of the manifesto.

The full text of the document entitled A Manifesto for Alberta Socialists can be obtained from Colwyn Williamson, Publications Editor, Alberta Socialist Caucus, 11145 - 90 Ave., Edmonton, Alberta, at 25¢ per copy.

### A SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR THE NDP

The solution to the problems facing the working people of Canada is to be found in the establishment of a true political and economic democracy whereby the basic means of production and distribution and all our vast natural resources, shall be owned and controlled by the people of Canada. Hand in hand with this new approach to economic and political democracy should go a new approach to the problems of war and peace. With these basic principles as our guide, we propose the following Socialist program for an NDP -- workers and farmers-- government:

- 1) Canadian withdrawal from all military alliances, particularly NATO and NORAD
- 2) Active support for the national liberation struggle in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Consistent opposition to the attempts of American imperialism to crush revolutionary movements for national independence and social justice.
- 3) Self-determination for the French-Canadian nation, not excluding separation from Canadian confederation.
- 4) Public ownership of all monopolies and foreign-owned industries, including the entire war-production and transport industries and the planned development of secondary industries. The operation of those industries to be managed by the workers themselves, through their own committees.
- 5) Public ownership of all financial institutions, including banks and insurance and loan companies.

These five points represent some of the basic demands we make as socialist. But we also propose certain minimum steps which must be taken now in order to deal with immediate needs -- demands which should be immediately adopted by the NDP and which should provide a rallying point for all progressives.

#### At the National Level:

- 1) Planned development of important Canadian durable and non-durable manufacturing industries under public ownership
- 2) To meet the challenge of Automation and place the burden of technological improvements on capital, not the workers, we propose:
  - a) establishment of a six-hour day and a thirty hour week, without any reduction in take-home pay.
  - b) in the face of inflationary rises in the cost of living, which rose 3.5% last year, and is expected by government spokesmen to rise 4.0% this year, far exceeding hard won wage increases, the NDP must solidarize with the trade union militants' demand for

an escalator clause in all collective agreements, allowing for an automatic increase in wages, salaries and pensions, in relation to the increase in prices of consumers goods, over and above existing negotiated wage rates.

- c) Calculation of the cost of living and of the correspondingly necessary wage levels is not to be left to government boards, which generally serve the employer's interests, but to workers' committees set up by the trade unions and farmers' organizations themselves.
- 3) In the context of the present working day and week a minimum wage of \$1.75
- 4) Revision of the Unemployment Insurance Act to cover all workers and to provide adequate benefits covering the entire period of unemployment, and the general upward revision of insurance benefits to equal wages normally earned at union rates of pay.
- 5) Guarantee of jobs to young Canadians leaving school; and failing this, extension of the unemployment insurance Act to provide coverage to this group.
- 6) Legislation of a mandatory three-week holiday with pay after one year of employment.
- 7) Unilateral disarmament for Canada.
- 8) Universal free education, including technical-vocational, college and university. Provision of adequate maintenance allowances for those attending institutions of higher learning.
- 9) Legislation precluding arbitrary political, racial, social or economic discrimination either, direct or indirect, against any individual or group. Repeal of any law that runs counter to this principle.
- 10) Mandatory public statements of economic situation, including percentage profit increases, of all firms with provision for criminal prosecution in cases of evasion.

At the provincial level, the Alberta Socialist Caucus proposes that the NDP launch a systematic educational and propaganda program based on a total critique of Social Credit and Alberta under Social Credit rule. Furthermore, the program of the NDP in Alberta should present, in the most open way, the following demands;

- 1) Public ownership of the whole oil and gas industry as part of a planned economy.
- 2) Wage parity with British Columbia.
- 3) Abolition of all government boards which exercise all arbitrary and irresponsible power.
- 4) Democratic reform of the whole electoral system, including thorough redistribution of the provincial electoral boundaries in order to give due representation to the urban population.
- 5) Legislation against all racial, political and economic discrimination in Alberta. Repeal of all segments of the law which run counter to this principle, particularly anti-labor law.
- 6) Legislation making it illegal for any provincial government official to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the freedom of expression of teachers and students in the schools and universities.

(@ Membership in the Socialist Caucus is not conditional upon agreement with all of these specific proposals.)

### Toronto Area Council Delays Entry into Municipal Politics

By a vote of about 3 to 2 the almost 150 delegates to the May 14 - 15 TAC annual meeting voted to place the question of the Party officially entering municipal politics under further study. Despite the fact that at least four riding associations submitted resolutions calling for immediate entry into municipal politics on the Party label, the resolutions committee chose to take the one resolution which called for further study as the bases for its composite resolution. Heated debate followed with those supporting further study claiming that the Party did not have an adequate program, candidates or funds. They felt that a failure which would be inevitable, would hurt the Party badly. Those for immediate entry argued that challenging municipal government was the only way to build the Party locally. The Party, being a Party of the working people, had a program since the question of housing, taxes, etc. revolves around the question of who controls civic government -- big business or the workers. They added that there were enough delegates at the council meeting to run for every municipal position. The decision of the delegates means that unless a different position is taken at the October Provincial Convention, the Party will not contest the December municipal elections.

### Toronto Area Socialist Caucus meets to plan mobilization of Aug. 6th IDP

At a July 5th meeting of the Toronto Area Socialist Caucus attended by about 20 New Democrats, plans were made to mobilize New Democrats for the coming International Days of Protest. Reports were heard of Vietnam preparations from Dr. Gustavo Tolentino of the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee, Mrs. Bea Bryant from Richmond Hill and Mrs. Zona Hollingsworth from Sarnia. A committee was elected to do the organizing work necessary for the border demonstration to be held at Niagara Falls on Aug. 6.

Also at the meeting were Ken Goldstein, editor of the New Democrat, Des Morton, Assistant Provincial Secretary and Mrs. Morton who were seated as guests. Questioned at the meeting about the Party's attitude to the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee which the Provincial Executive had labelled a Communist-Trotskyist front in a previous Party circular, Mr. Morton stated that the TCEWV was a "good and valuable body" which had a more important role to play than the Party in building opposition to the war because it could attract people other than New Democrats. The Party being a partisan body, he felt was limited in this activity.

Other topics discussed were further preparations for the October Provincial Convention and the coming bulletin.

Elections were held to complete the executive. George Goldberg (St. Pauls) and Christine Baird (Spadina) were elected.

The next meeting, to be held in August shortly after the IDP, will discuss in detail preparations for caucus activity at the October Party Convention.

### Bulletin Editor Completes Study on Candidate Backgrounds

A study completed recently by George Haggart, a member of the bulletin editorial committee, provides some valuable information for socialist members of the New Democratic Party. Entitled "Toryless Toronto?" the study attempts to show that contrary to popular opinion, the electors were not given candidates, representative of population, nor did they elect such candidates. Analyzing tables, giving the job classification, education, religion, age and place of birth of the 73 candidates presented to Toronto voters, Mr. Haggart demonstrates that the vast majority of these candidates had more in common with that section of society known as the corporate elite than with the working people they were supposed to represent. Mr. Haggart suggests that since the candidate's political and social outlook is generally conditioned to one degree or another by their backgrounds the voters in Toronto did not elect, nor were they



presented with candidates representing their point of view.

The study is valuable for New Democrats because it includes data on the New Democrat candidates as well as that for the Liberals and Conservatives. According to Mr. Haggart, the figures show that the NDP must be included in this general pattern and therefore it could be argued that the NDP is losing its working class identity and failing to represent the workers it claims to represent.

A condensation of the study will appear in the next issue of the bulletin in September.

#### Bulletin Title OK'd by Ontario Provincial Council

At the June meeting of the Ontario Provincial Council held in Sudbury, a brief report was given on the effects of the constitutional changes made in the disciplinary procedures at the previous Council meeting. The report stated that the changes have eliminated a number of problems. It was also reported, apparently without comment or discussion, that the Socialist Caucus had dropped the Party initials from the title of its bulletin.

#### News from Left Report

The July issue of Left Report, the bulletin of the left-wing of the New Democratic Youth, reports on a number of important Provincial Council meetings of various sections of the YND. The bulletin reports motions passed by the Provincial Councils of both the Saskatchewan YND and the Alberta YND concerning recent positions of the Federal Council favouring expulsions of left-wingers and merging of the Ontario YND into the NDP. At the Federal Council meeting, May 12 - 15th, a motion to move toward expulsions of the Left Caucus and to merge the OYND membership with the Ontario senior membership, was passed by a vote of 7 to 6. The motion, passed by the May 28th Saskatchewan YND Provincial Council meeting, condemns what they consider to be partisan activities of the Federal Secretary, Hans Brown, in supporting expulsion moves against the left caucus and calls for his removal. The motion on youth autonomy states that attempts to merge the OYND with the NDP is an attempt by the right wing of the OYND to use the Federal Council against the competing left caucus. The resolution ends by maintaining that the YND cannot be built as a "department of the NDP".

The June Alberta Provincial Council YND meetings passed generally the same resolutions. In hitting out against the move of the Federal Council towards expulsions, they state, "The ANDY Council feels a strong, positive, educational campaign is more effective and desirable than undemocratic expulsion".

Also included in this issue of Left Report is a statement defending the Left Caucus against the resolution passed by the Federal Council.

I would like to receive the Socialist Caucus Bulletin Regularly \_\_\_\_\_

Name	Address	Constituency or Union Local
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Enclosed please find a donation of \_\_\_\_\_ to aid in the publication costs.

The following persons would like to receive the Socialist Caucus Bulletin .....

Name	Address	Constituency or Union Local
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## OYND Provincial Council Strikes Blow at Internal Democracy

In spite of the fact that Left Caucus forces held about 44% voting strength at the July 9 - 10 Ontario Young New Democrat provincial council meeting held in Toronto a number of decisions were taken which seriously weaken the internal democracy of the Ontario youth movement.

Passed was a motion banning caucus publications on pain of serious disciplinary action including expulsion. The ban applies especially to Left Report, the bulletin of the YND left wing, although the right wing bulletin Left Review will also come under the ruling.

Defeated, was a motion designed to force caucuses to admit members without conditions. Had this passed it would mean that caucuses could not function since programmatic agreement with the caucus as a criterion of membership is the meaning of an organized caucus.

As it stands now, caucuses are able to function, but they cannot publish anything. All publications will now come from the federal and provincial offices.

In the discussion on Vietnam, resolution supporting the Aug. 6 IDP was passed although weakened by the substitution of the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops by one calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

### THE NDY AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

(The following is an excerpt from an editorial by Stephen Langdon in the March issue of RejoYNDER, the OYND newsletter. It deals with the March 26 March on Ottawa and particularly the hesitance of some sectors of the NDP-NDY to participate. In view of the coming August 6-9 International Days of Protest, we feel it is particularly appropriate now.)

The most unfortunate side-effect of this hesitance has been the misgivings produced in some sections of the YND regarding the March. While it is not our part to question the attitude of the Party, (much as we might like to) in this editorial, we in the Youth should not draw back from complete participation in this event. We do not question the fact that the YND is a political movement, but what we add is that the issue of Vietnam and of Canada's hypocritical role in the war transcends the ordinary considerations of politics. This March is to us more than a political gesture. It is to be more than partisan posturing to gain advantage. This March is to be a united effort by all concerned Canadians to express our disapproval of the stand taken by our government. The YND has shown its concern in political conventions; the YND has the organization to get its members to Ottawa. Therefore, it is natural that we should participate whole-heartedly in the united effort. Certainly there are Communists and Trotskyites involved; there are even Maoists who intend to March. They may support the VietCong while we seek a fair and just settlement of the issues to bring peace. But should we, who condemned the U.S. contention that a small group of Communists dominated the revolt in the Dominican Republic, accept that argument when it is applied to a March in which we are involved? Of course not!

This important issue calls for an overwhelming response from all Young New Democrats. All factions of the movement are involved, the right, the centre and the left.

-8-

## THE PICKET LINE AND ANTI-LABOUR LEGISLATION

by John Steele, Spadina, Toronto

The current legislative attack on the labour movement with injunctions, fines, compulsory arbitration and jailings of union leaders in B.C. and Ontario is a concerted and co-ordinated attempt by Canada's corporate elite to emasculate the power of organized labour and the working class in a period when profits are booming and the workers' budgets are squeezed to the limit. The response of the New Democratic Party and the labour movement to this attack, is not only crucial to the welfare of the working population, but also to the success of the NDP at the polls across the country.

The following song written by myself and inspired by the successful struggle of the newspaper workers at the Oshawa Times in Ontario, where picket lines were maintained in the face of an injunction expresses what I think is a socialist view on how to meet the current union-busting attack.

### STAY ON THE PICKET LINE

I)

When the union's out on strike  
And the picket line's our right  
The boss will always look for ways  
To bring in scabs night or day,  
His temper will be short  
He'll go down to the court  
He'll tell the judge to write a law  
And the judge will get to work.

(Tune: There once was a union maid)

Chorus:

But you can't scare me with that injunction,  
with that injunction,  
with that injunction,  
Oh, you can't scare me with that injunction,  
We're gonna stay on the picket line.

II)

The law then, it will say,  
No pickets here to-day,  
One or two, not more than three,  
Protect the boss's property.  
The pickets must be stopped,  
'Cause the boss's profits dropped,  
The scabs can do the job to-day,  
And do it for less pay.

III)

The cops will come there too,  
The finest boys in blue,  
To enforce the law, it is their job,  
Herding scabs, our jobs to rob.  
They'll bring their goons and thugs,  
And beat you with their clubs,  
But we'll keep our line to win the strike,  
And show the boss our might.

IV)

You workers who want to win,  
Don't you be taken in,  
By boss's courts and boss's cops,  
The plants must close, machines must stop,  
Our picket line is strong,  
With it we can't go wrong,  
No scab will cross it for the boss,  
And victory won't be long.



# THE CONSUMER -- PRICE REVIEW BOARDS VS MASS ACTION

By Bea Bryant, York North, Richmond Hill,

In the past year, the cost of living has risen approximately 4%. Thus the workers' wages, the farmers' income and old age pensions were automatically reduced 4%. Authoritative sources have predicted a 3.5% price index rise for the coming year. On the other hand, total profit increases over the last 5 year period for Canadian Industries was 51%. Packers and processors of food in the years 1961-65 made a 43% increase.

Several months ago, T.C. Douglas pointed out in the House of Commons, that the consumer was forced to buy goods in a market where a dozen large corporations are able to fix the price of commodities. He proposed that a Price Review Board be established which would have the right to examine the books, the profits and the cost accounting material of the particular industry concerned, in order to find whether or not the increased cost of raw materials warranted the increased cost of the goods produced. The Liberal and Tory representatives of vested interests did not, of course support this.

It is safe to predict that until the NDP forms the government, such legislation will not be passed. A gesture was made by the federal government in 1963 when it set up an advisory Council for Consumers. It is restricted to offering suggestions to the Department of National Health and Welfare. A review board composed of government appointees, even a serious one such as would be established by a labor government would have to do an astronomical amount of research with limited resources and would have to continually buck the legal facade under which price gouging operates.

The obvious solution which could be implemented immediately and which would be a base for a serious struggle against price increases would be the establishment of Citizens Consumer Committees in all areas where the NDP is able to organize them. The aim of these committees would be to gather information pertinent to consumer prices, price increases, product safety, packaging, quality, quantity, honesty of advertising, costs of raw materials, credit charges, etc. Having the data needed to expose the real profits and costs of any industry these committees could effectively challenge them to "open their books".

The committees would be composed of housewives, who spend hours every week shopping for food and clothing and checking prices, packaging, quality and quantity; workers in the factories at all levels of production; accountants; statisticians; and farmers -- indeed all consumers whose income is continually behind the cost of living. The unions would undoubtedly support this program with enthusiasm and valuable assistance.

The popular pressure would have a much more immediate influence on restricting profits than any review board of government appointees. Take the field of medicare, for instance. A recent article in the Commonwealth entitled "How the pharmacists will fight medicare" stated, "pharmacists are not only better organized than the doctors, they are backed by some heavy artillery -- the drug companies. Canadians spend nearly 300 million a year on drugs (almost as much as on doctor bills)"

The drug companies, will have to be countered by a large majority of the working people, organized to expose their criminal price manipulations before an adequate medicare program can be established.

In the field of credit buying, the laws appear to be made to suit the institutions giving credit rather than the needs of the people using the credit. Through legal manipulations and the assertion of sales finance companies, it is difficult to quote interest rates and consumers can pay up to 32% interest on purchases.

In 1965, a group of Saskatchewan farmers studied the wheat price situation and uncovered ample statistics to prove that the corporation that packed and processed their products had made substantial profits in passing, on the farmers' produce.

Well organized mass membership consumers' committees through their price, cost exposures would have the immediate effect of putting tremendous pressure on the corp-

orations which would result in a slowing down of the rising cost of living. They would establish the NDP as a political movement capable of implementing a planned economy with the democratic participation of the working people and they would mobilize people across the country into political activity demanding that the corporations open their books and reveal their business secrets--a significant step towards the creation of an economic democracy.

### Toronto New Democrat Shows N.D.P. Newspaper Feasible

Moved by the clear need to counteract the big business newspapers with a Metro N.D.P. newspaper Douglas, St. Pauls member and caucus supporter has taken the initiative to prove it can be done. The paper would be beamed at Metro and carry local and world news from the working man's point of view.

At a meeting of interested ridings in April, Mr. Campbell presented figures showing that twelve ridings could finance a monthly paper with a press run of 24,000 for \$485 printing costs and editor's salary. Income through advertising and sustaining pledges could be \$494. per month.

If all 29 ridings were involved the press run could be upped to 58,000 with roughly double the costs and income per month.

The 1966 Toronto Area Council annual convention supported a newspaper if "financially feasible." According to Mr. Campbell it is and should be produced immediately.

Interested New Democrats should contact Douglas Campbell for more information at 360 Davenport Road, Toronto, Ontario.

### Socialist Caucus Bulletin Financial Statement as at July 14, 1966

#### Income

Cash on hand as at May 6/66 \$38.12  
Donations from May 6 9.00

\$47.12

Total Income \$47.12

Total Expenditure 67.80

#### Expenditures

Stamps \$22.80  
Bulletin#5 45.00

\$67.80

-20.68

\$47.12

Deficit July 14/66 20.68

September 13, 1966  
Box 872 Station F.  
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Socialist Caucus Supporter:

The ONDP convention is almost upon us and preparations are under way to organize socialist caucus participation in the convention.

Up to this time, caucus activity has been Toronto based. However, over the past year, caucus supporters have been contacted in other Ontario centers.

In considering these developments and the inspiring work of Alberta Socialists, the August 30 meeting of the Toronto Area Socialist Caucus decided to call for the formation of an Ontario Socialist Caucus so that socialists throughout Ontario could be effectively represented at the convention.

Enclosed, please find a draft program for the Ontario Socialist Caucus submitted by the program committee elected at the August 30 meeting.

We would like you to give this your fullest consideration and communicate to us your opinions, suggestions or criticisms either in writing, or, better still, in person at the founding meeting.

The founding meeting will take place Saturday, September 24 at 1.30 p.m. in the Green Room of the Walker House Hotel (on Front St. at York, across from the Royal York). Business of the meeting will include the discussion and adoption of the program and the election of Ontario Socialist Caucus officers.

In the evening of the same day (Sept. 24) there will be an Ontario Socialist Caucus social to raise money for the Ontario Socialist Caucus and the Socialist Caucus Bulletin. The social will start at 8.30 p.m. at 192 Stephen Drive (see over for directions.)

We hope you will be able to attend both the founding meeting and the social. If you are from out of town, billets can be arranged when you arrive.

We are looking forward to your aid in this significant step in developing the socialist forces in the New Democratic Party and winning the NDP to a socialist program.

Fraternally,

John Steele,  
Chairman: Toronto Area Socialist  
Caucus. 924-4565

SEE OVER FOR DIRECTIONS TO MEETING  
AND SOCIAL



# M E E T I N G   N O T I C E

## FOUNDING MEETING OF ONTARIO SOCIALIST CAUCUS

DATE: Sat. Sept. 24, 1966

TIME: 1.30 p.m.

PLACE: Green Room, Walker House Hotel  
(York & Front Sts. Kitty-corner from  
Royal York Hotel, across York St. from  
Union Station.)

BUSINESS: Adoption of program  
Election of officers

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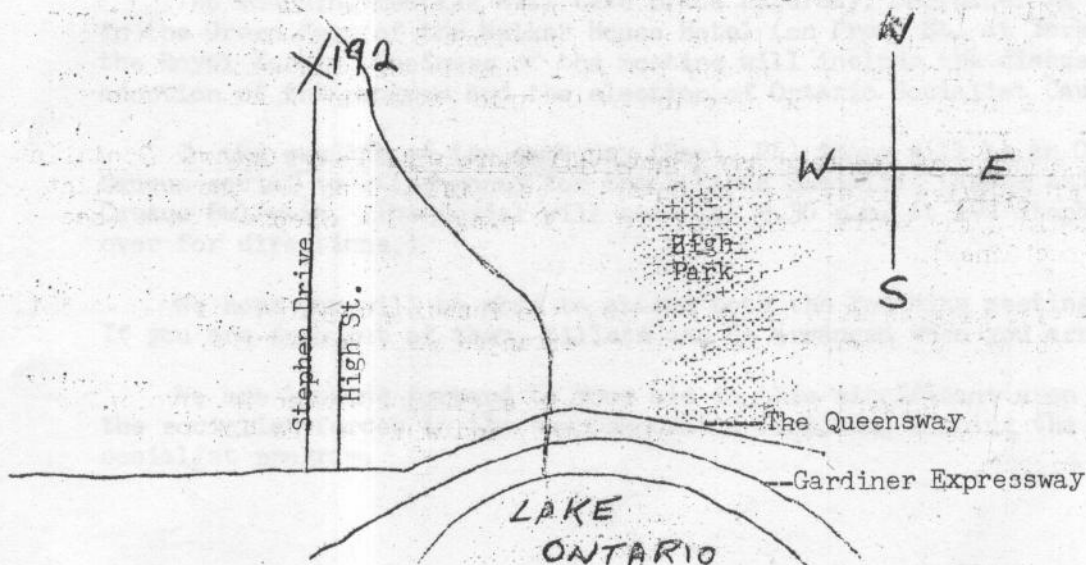
SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL SOCIAL

---to raise funds for the caucus

-----to raise funds for the Socialist Caucus Bulletin

-----to get to know each other

-----to have a good time!



DATE: Sat. Sept. 24, 1966

TIME: 8.30 p.m.

PLACE: 192 Stephen Drive  
231-4654

Refreshments---Dancing---Discussion---Dancing---Refreshments---

From the Center of Toronto: Take Gardiner Expressway West. Exit at So. Kingsway.  
Continue West on the Queensway to Stephen Drive.  
Go North on Stephen Drive to end of the road and number  
192. See you there!

-----see over-----

## THE EXPULSION STORY

- 1) On Jan 9th 1967 five leading activists in the Ottawa NDP NDY were expelled on the pretext of refusal to accept new membership applications. They were: Jeff White, Editor of the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter; Gary Porter, member of the OYND NDP for eight years; former OYND executive member, Ottawa correspondent for the Socialist Caucus Bulletin; Brenda Dineen, Chairman of the Carlton Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Ken Warren, an editor of the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter, and Kate Porter, President of the Ottawa YND club.
- 2) On Jan 15 1967 several of the expelled spoke at a protest meeting at the Westbury Hotel, sponsored by the Ontario Socialist Caucus.
- 3) On Jan 15 the ONDP executive made a statement to the Provincial Council denying any expulsions and attributing the membership refusals to technical problems. The expelled were advised to submit their applications to John Harney.
- 4) On Feb 27 both Gary Porter and Jeff White were informed by letter from John Harney that their memberships were being "turned down". No reason was given and it was made clear no appeal procedure would be open to them.
- 5) Shortly after these expulsions, Brenda Dineen and Ken Warren received expulsion notices on the basis that the executive had reason to believe they were members or supporters of another political party. On March 14 Joe Young received his expulsion notice with similar motivation. It was made clear that there would be no appeal.
- 6) On the weekend of March 18 the Ottawa expulsions came before the Ottawa Area Council. A letter from the Ontario Socialist Caucus protesting the expulsions was read and two of the expelled were permitted to speak. The Council took no position on the expulsions but suggested it be discussed in the riding associations and possibly raised at the Provincial Council meeting this way.
- 7) On March 15 the Don Mills YND passed a resolution protesting the expulsions. The March meeting of the Dovercourt riding association sent a resolution to the Toronto Area Council Convention calling for a review of the expulsions and that the expelled be given the right to put their case before the party.
- 8) Reports indicate that Welland, St Catherines and Sarnia ridings will take action against the expulsions. It is also reported that both the Oshawa and Peterboro NDP Area Councils passed motions supporting the expelled members and intend to bring the question up at the Provincial Council meeting in May.
- 9) It is also reported that at least 19 other Party members are on the expulsions list and that their names have been turned over to the Provincial Secretary.

BECAUSE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS A PROVINCE-WIDE DEFENCE COMMITTEE FOR THE EXPELLED IS BEING FORMED THIS WEEKEND IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AIREADY FUNCTIONNING OTTAWA DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

THE FOUNDING MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE ON SUNDAY APRIL 2 AT 8 pm IN THE TOWNSMEN ROOM AT THE PRINCE GEORGE HOTEL.

NEW DEMOCRATS INTERESTED IN WORKING TO RESCIND THESE EXPULSIONS AND TO PREVENT FURTHER ONES ARE URGED TO COME AND PARTICIPATE IN THE PLANNING OF THE DEFENCE WORK.

OPEN LETTER TO NEW DEMOCRATS

DEAR FELLOW NEW DEMOCRAT:

On March 14 I received a letter from John Harney, the Provincial Secretary of the ONDP. It read, "your application for membership in the New Democratic Party of Ontario has been turned down by the Provincial Executive because it has reasons to believe that you are either a member or supporter of another political party!"

This letter was in response to my queries about my membership renewal which I turned in almost one year ago in May 1966. Over the phone Mr Harney told me that this was not an expulsion but a simple membership rejection and therefore I had no appeal.

However the facts speak for themselves. They show I have been expelled by the Provincial Executive and refused any opportunity to defend myself before the party.

My four and a half year record in the NDP is beyond reproach. Last year I signed up over 25 new members in the drive to reach the 35,000 member mark. During the year I made over a dozen trips to Ottawa, Peterboro, Oshawa, Hamilton, Sarnia, Brantford, Welland and Guelph to help organise New Democratic Youth clubs. In 1963 I founded the Don Mills YND which is the most active youth club in the city of Toronto. I am the immediate past president of the club and the present educational director.

Does the executive condemn me for these things? No, they cannot. They have found it easier to simply state that I am guilty of being a member or supporter of another political party. They don't bother to say what they mean by a party, the name of the so-called party or offer any proof of membership in this mystery organisation. There will be no trial. It is guilt by decree and that's it. To their charges I answer that I am not a member or supporter of another political party. I will work for the NDP despite any obstacles the executive places before me.

It is obvious the executive is not worried about my support. On the phone Mr Harney informed me that while I would no longer be a party member, I would still be welcome to help in any way I desired. The executive is worried about my views.

I am chairman of the Left Caucus of the Ontario Young New Democrats. Running on a Socialist Program I received 43% of the vote for OYND President in the October 1966 Convention. I have consistently raised the Vietnam issue in the Party and have played an active role in the anti-war movement. I am currently the president of the newly formed cross-country Student Association to End the War in Vietnam which has about one thousand members. Moreover my expulsion is not isolated. In the past few weeks, four members of the Ottawa NDP have been similarly expelled. All of them have been active in the anti-war movement and all of them hold socialist convictions. It is clear then, that the executive is carrying out these expulsions in attempting to silence party members who are seriously struggling to end the Vietnam War and who promote socialist convictions in the Party.

Intent on victory, the executive apparently feels everything else is secondary, including internal democracy. But how hollow the victory if we abandon our principles. With the election before us, we have the chance to form the government or the official opposition. These expulsions only hurt our chances. What will people think of a party which expels dissenting members? What will trade unionists think who are fighting undemocratic anti-labor legislation? Is the executive saying that honest and important differences among members cannot be tolerated? Is this not the meaning of expulsions?

I appeal to you to fight to rescind these expulsions and to demand that the expelled be given the chance to put their case before the membership. I do this not only because I want to be part of the development of our Party but because the actions of the provincial executive and its effects on the Party can only hurt our chances of serving the Canadian people.

Fraternally  
Joe Young, for the expelled.

(SEE OVER FOR EXPULSION DETAILS)



# Stop the Expulsions! Defend Democracy in the NDP!

## Ontario New Democrats accused of purging anti-war protesters

A disgruntled group of young political activists last night charged that the Ontario New Democratic Party is expelling or refusing membership to persons who are actively engaged in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations.

At the close of the annual meeting of the Toronto Area Council of the NDP, 23 youths met in a room at the Prince George Hotel to discuss ways of counteracting what it describes as a political purge.

Joseph Young, a 19-year-old honors science student at York University, is one of several spokesmen for the group — all of whom claim some identity with the NDP.

He says in an open letter to all New Democrats that he received a letter from John Harney, provincial secretary of the NDP, saying his application for senior party membership was rejected because he is either a member or supporter of another political party.

Mr. Young denies this, saying his 4½-year record with the NDP is beyond reproach, but he has been consistently active in the anti-war movement. He adds that at least four other NDP members active in the movement in Ottawa have been expelled.

"It is clear then that the executive in carrying out these expulsions is attempting to silence party members who are seriously struggling to end the Vietnam war and who promote socialist convictions in

the party," Mr. Young said.

"This is nothing but a political purge," said Jeff White, a Young New Democrat from Ottawa. He also said he supports the NDP because it is "the only party in Canada that is opposed to the war in Vietnam."

Mr. Young said he too supports the NDP, but criticized what he described as attempts by the party to destroy NDP youth.

Earlier in the day, Murray Cotterill, chairman of the Toronto Area Council, ruled out of order a resolution that would have asked the party's provincial council to hear an appeal from six left-wing Young New Democrats who have been refused senior party membership.

The group last night voted to establish a defense committee to seek an appeal and reinstatement of those who were refused membership. It aims to mobilize support for a meeting of the NDP provincial council in May at Sudbury.

Mr. Young's open letter says there are at least 19 names on an expulsions list that has been turned over to the NDP's provincial secretary.

"Intent on victory, the executive apparently feels everything else is secondary," Mr. Young said, "including internal democracy."

"But how hollow the victory if we abandon our principles."

"What will people think of a party which expels dissenting members? What will trade unionists think who are fighting undemocratic anti-labor legislation? Is the executive saying that honest and important differences among members cannot be tolerated?"

The group, which met at a Toronto hotel after a weekend meeting of the Toronto area council of the NDP, voted to establish a defense committee to seek an appeal and reinstatement of those who were expelled.

Reached at his home last night, Mr. MacDonald said that he has been out of town and is not in close touch with the situation which he said was a matter for officials of the party association.

Twelve members of the YND-NDP have been expelled from the Party. The reason? According to the Ontario Provincial Executive they have been expelled because the "executive has reason to believe they are members or supporters of another political party". However no party is named and no evidence is given for proof of membership in the unnamed organization. In other words, on the basis of a decree by the Provincial Executive a dozen or more members of the NDP have been thrown out of the Party without specific charges, trial, defence or appeal.

New Democrats should be shocked and concerned by these events. The fact that those expelled hold socialist convictions and have been active in the fight against the Vietnam War simply underlines the seriousness of the matter. If members of the NDP holding dissenting views can be expelled on the basis of an executive decree, then democracy in the NDP is seriously threatened. Membership rights and membership itself will become meaningless.

The Committee for the Defence of the Expelled urges all New Democrats to demand the reinstatement of the expelled. Stop the erosion of internal democracy in the NDP! Demand the Provincial Executive adhere to accepted norms of democracy and justice in the case of the expelled by granting them the right to put their case before the Party!

## Ontario leader of NDP silent on purge claim

Donald C. MacDonald, leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party, refused to comment last night on charges by a group of about 20 youths that the party has been conducting a political purge.

The youths say that the party is expelling or denying membership to persons who are engaged in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

SEND ENQUIRIES AND DONATIONS TO: (Toronto) Committee to Defend the Expelled, c/o Mrs J. Birrell, Sec-Treas., 9 Sylvan Ave., Toronto, Ontario, tel. 532-4112; or the Ottawa Committee at 335 Gloucester, Ottawa 4, Ontario

TO THE COUNCIL

Delegates and participants in the Provincial Council meeting:

You have been challenged by 60 leading activists in our Party to take up the grave matter of expulsions. These seriously concerned New Democrats met in Toronto on May 11th to discuss the matter of the recent expulsions of 12 young activists from the ONDP.

They overwhelmingly endorsed the following resolution for your attention.

" This meeting deeply regrets the recent expulsion by the Executive of the ONDP of 12 members of the movement. We feel that such actions can only serve to hurt the Party both in terms of the internal democracy upon which the Party has rightly prided itself since its inception, and in terms of the view of the Party which such actions engender among the ordinary people of this province. The failure of the Executive to give the Expelled a chance to examine evidence, cross-examine witnesses, or present a defence on their own behalf, must not only be deplored, it must be corrected. We call upon the Provincial Council of the ONDP meeting in Sudbury this weekend, to give the expelled a full and open hearing at which concrete charges must be laid, with the right to examine all evidence and cross-examine all witnesses, or to immediately re-instate the Expelled."

The 12 were expelled on the pretext of refusal of membership renewal applications under a constitutional amendment adopted at the last Ondp convention integrating Youth and Party memberships. All are supporters of the YND Left Caucus and the Ontario Socialist Caucus and have been active in the Anti-Vietnam War movement. The Provincial Executive motivated the expulsions by stating that they had reason to believe the expelled were members or supporters of another political party.

The expelled are: Jeff White, Editor of the Canada-Vietnam Newsletter; Gary Porter, former OYND Executive member; Brenda Dineen, Chairman of the Carleton University Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Ken Warren, an editor of the Canada Vietnam Newsletter; Kate Porter, President Of the Ottawa YND club; Joe Young, President of the Don Mills YND; Alex Chisholm Wendy Stevenson, President of the Spadina YND; Joan Newbigging, former chairman of the Toronto YND Metro Council ; Sue Claus; Carol Oleniuk; Ian Angus; Palm Furlotte.

The expelled have received support from some Ottawa riding The Peterboro and Oshawa Area Councils, the Don Mills YND, The St Andrews and Davenport Associations, and numerous individuals across the province.

Delegates to the Provincial Council--- You must take up this question! The Executive must account for their actions, the expelled must be allowed to speak to the Council on their own behalf. DEMOCRACY MUST BE RE/INSTATED IN THE ONDP.

## SOCIALIST CAUCUS URGES NDP CANDIDATE AGAINST STANFIELD

The Socialist Caucus of the New Democratic Party in a statement issued to the press today urged the federal executive of the NDP to repudiate any commitments that may have been made in the name of the party not to field a candidate in the coming by-election in Colchester-Hants.

The federal office should see to it that an effective candidate is presented to the 60,000 people in that community as an alternative to the newly selected progressive conservative leader Robert Stanfield and that sufficient resources be allocated to win that seat for the NDP.

The Socialist Caucus first appeared as a force in the NDP at the 1965 federal convention and has won the support of a considerable number of active NDPers across the country. It recently played an important role in the protest movement against the expulsions of several leading Young New Democrats from the Ontario section, a protest which won the support of NDP members of parliament Bert Herridge and Colin Cameron. It publishes a bulletin under the editorship of John Steele (St. Georges) with correspondents in all the major centers.

The caucus recalls that an effective OCF campaign behind the late Joseph Noseworthy in York South succeeded in defeating the then newly elected Tory leader Arthur Meighen. That was the first breakthrough of the NDP's precursor into the Ontario area and resulted in a quick win of that seat provincially as well. These victories played a big role in paving the way that is now open for the victory for a labor government in the coming Ontario provincial elections.

At the same time the caucus statement noted that neither the Liberals nor the Tories, whenever the NDP sought to put a leader in the house, showed such a cavalier attitude as is now being suggested that the NDP show with respect to Mr. Stanfield. On the contrary both parties of the big business interests combined in an attempt to defeat Mr. Douglas when NDP MP Regier stepped down in Burnaby-Coquitlam--the Liberals running their chief braintruster Tom Kent.

The eyes of the entire country will be on the Colchester-Hants by-election. It can provide the NDP with an opportunity to clearly expound its positions on Vietnam, NATO-NORAD, the housing scandal, and extend its influence from coast to coast. At the very least it will result in building an effective base under the party in the Maritimes area which remain strongholds for the Liberals and the Tories.

Failure to run will be widely misinterpreted and will do damage to the party.

Sept. 14, 1967

The Socialist Caucus,  
Box 872, Station F,  
Toronto.

contact:

John Steele, tel. 924-4565



# socialist caucus slate <sup>(Form in 1967)</sup> 1967

The following candidates for Executive Members, running on the Socialist Caucus slate are committed to the building of a Socialist New Democratic Party on the basis of a principled class struggle program.

It is the view of the caucus that the Party must be more than an electoral machine - it must be a fighting machine.

Project 67, necessary and inspiring, is an indication of the fact that the ONDP can wrest power from the big business Liberals and Tories in the next provincial election.

But the election is not the only test. The party will meet the test daily in the picket line, in the anti-war movement and the consumers' committees, where the most important struggle is developing.

The program of the Ontario Socialist Caucus reinforces and expresses the necessity of the Party to involve itself boldly in the day to day struggle.

Vote for these candidates for Executive Members who pledge themselves to the following program.

---

JOHN STEELE - Spadina Riding Ass.; Delegate to the Toronto and District Labor Council, C.P. Express driver

GUSTAVO TOLENTINO - St. Pauls Riding Ass., Chairman, Midtown Toronto Committee to end the War in Vietnam, Doctor at the Toronto Western Hospital

Miss REGULA MODLICH - St. Paul's Riding Ass., Townplanner with the City of Toronto Planning Board

DAVID HUGHES - Member local 444 UAW, four years delegate to Windsor Labor Council - now an alternate, UAW PAC, Windsor-Walkerville Riding Ass.

- 1 Planned economy with nationalization of Bell Telephone, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the drug industry.
- 2 Support for the right of labor to defy injunctions in the struggle to abolish them in labor disputes - no compulsory arbitration for ANY sector of the work force - six-hour day, thirty-hour week, no reduction in pay.
- 3 Mass action on prices - force companies to open their books.
- 4 Mass action on housing - expropriation of city land for proper planning - goal of reducing rent to 10% of income.
- 5 Elimination of fares for urban transportation.
- 6 Drive for NDP municipal governments throughout the province.
- 7 BRING THE VIETNAM ISSUE TO THE PEOPLE OF ONTARIO TO MOBILIZE THEM AGAINST THE WAR AND CANADIAN COMPLICITY.

For full caucus program drop in to room 1201 of this hotel or write to box 872, Station F, Toronto 5, Ontario.

produced with voluntary labor

# Socialist caucus bulletin

An unofficial bulletin published by members  
of the New Democratic Party dedicated to  
winning the NDP to a socialist program.

Number 10

Box 872 Station F Toronto Ont.

February 1968

## We are back - and we need your help

If you thought the Socialist Caucus Bulletin died over the last few months, you were wrong. It was merely 'on ice' due to financial debts and other practical difficulties.

However, many New Democrats have stressed the need for continuation of the Bulletin. We agree. With the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the continuation of Canadian complicity in that war, the rising cost of living and the housing crisis, the socialist view must be circulated in the NDP. We therefore intend to publish the Bulletin now - but on a more modest basis.

This issue includes notes of interest, a view on the housing crisis and the recently adopted Sask. NDP position on Vietnam. We urge you to have this position circulated and endorsed by as many NDP organizations and unions as possible. We have also enclosed the Socialist Caucus program circulated to the 1967 Federal convention.

Expansion of the Bulletin depends entirely on you. We are approximately \$100 in debt. We want to clean this up in short order. Send cheques or money orders to Don Oman (c/o Box 872, Station F, Toronto) who handles the finances. Please do it now.

## Discussion on Socialism in Alberta NDP

In contrast to the B.C. and Ont. NDP publications, the editors of the Alta. NDP organ The Democrat announced last November the discussion of political issues would be the 'primary' function of the paper - open to all points of view. Since then, over the opposition of provincial leader Neil Reimer, a wide ranging discussion over the principles of socialism has taken place, involving people like Ken Novakowski, YND federal president, Norman Dolman, Alta. NDP vice-president, and others. Virtually every issue raised by the Socialist Caucus is being discussed. This is an important discussion which the party as a whole should participate in. Address of The Democrat is: 6234 - 112A St., Edmonton, Alta.

## Beneath the surface in Colchester-Hants

Many New Democrats felt it was a serious mistake for the NDP not to oppose Tory leader Stanfield in the November 6 Colchester-Hants by-election in Nova Scotia. A Sudbury member of the NDP, Elwood Smith, did run - but as an independent. Although local NDP officials signed his nomination form, Smith apparently felt that our federal office collabored with the Liberals to keep candidates out of the by-election. In a letter to the Chief Electoral Officer, he demanded an inquiry and a new election so that the constituency associations "could hold nomination meetings without interference from their federal office." He also

Colchester-Hants continued

stated that pressure to keep opposition candidates out of the election may have stemmed from "mutual agreement between the leaders of our three national parties." In an earlier letter, Smith stated that he and the Liberal candidate had been offered bribes to withdraw. Surely these charges demand an explanation from the federal office. New Democrats have a right to know if this is true and if there is a policy not to oppose the leaders of the big business parties.

For a housing program based on public housing - by Regula Modlich, St. George

The housing crisis is getting worse and it is becoming clearer every day that only the NDP has the potential to solve it. Now housing is built for profit by private industry. No matter how many housing conferences are held, no matter what the Liberals and Tories say, their policies can only be more profits for the housing industry, not more houses for the people.

It is our responsibility to promote a realistic housing policy. In my opinion, if we examine the problem objectively, we will find we have to go beyond the program advocated in the New Democrat by I. Greenburg. Raising interest rates for NHA insured mortgages only aids developers. Modifications by regional housing authorities and departments of housing, revisions of building and zoning by-laws, subsidies to developers through land servicing, plans like the Ontario HOME plan and various land massing schemes can do very little. There is enough statistical evidence, trend projections, figures from the profit sheets of the construction industry to prove that private industry is incapable of satisfying basic housing needs. Why should we waste our time with incentive plans for big business covered in militant-sounding threats that if they can't do it, the government will?

Rather we must stand for the elimination of private industry from the housing field and for a federal housing program based on massive public housing. All our research and program development must be based on this cornerstone.

There is no other way to provide Canadians with adequate housing according to the national housing standard at not more than 20% of a household's income to be paid for rent. It is time for the NDP to tell it as it is and to fight for programs which are real and fundamental solutions.

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The Socialist Caucus Bulletin is a news and discussion bulletin written by and for socialists in the New Democratic Party who recognize the need to bring a socialist program to the NDP. It is hoped that the bulletin, which originated after the 1965 federal convention, will serve to contribute to the development of socialist thought and forces within the NDP. Issues of the Bulletin are circulated to interested members of the party and costs are met through reader donations. Editorial Committee:

The labor is donated.

Mailing address is  
Box 872, Station F  
Toronto, Ontario.

Christine Baird, Bellwoods Riding  
Beatrice Bryant, North York Riding  
George Goldberg, St. George Riding  
Regula Modlich, St. George Riding  
Don Oman, High Park Riding  
John Steele, St. George Riding



# **Saskatchewan New Democratic Party Says**

## **\* End Canadian Complicity in Vietnam**

## **\* Withdraw U.S. Troops**

( The following resolution was passed by the 33,500 member Saskatchewan New Democratic Party at its Nov. 23-25 1967 Convention in Saskatoon.)

Whereas the people of Vietnam have been fighting for the simplest human rights for the past 25 years,

And whereas the presence of 500,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam constitutes the major obstacle to the Vietnamese attaining these rights,

And whereas the Canadian government supports and aids this totally unjust American intervention with diplomatic, moral and material support,

And whereas the danger of thermonuclear war grows immanent;

Therefore be it resolved that the New Democratic Party demand an immediate end to Canadian Complicity in the Vietnam war, an immediate cessation of sales of war material to the U.S. and more important that the Canadian government speak out clearly to disassociate itself from American policy in Vietnam.

And be it further resolved that the New Democratic Party call for immediate and unconditional cessation of bombing and use of napalm and white phosphorus, followed by complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam and a settlement based on the principle of self-determination for all the Vietnamese people.

And be it further resolved that we direct our National Executive and our federal M.P.'s to actively advance this policy.

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Published with voluntary labor by the Socialist Caucus, Box 872 Station F, Toronto, Ontario, to help insure the widest possible circulation of this position. We urge you to get your club organization or trade union to endorse this stand now. For more copies write to the above address. Specify the number you want and enclose donation to cover help the costs.

FELLOW MWMBER:

No doubt you will be shocked to hear that a wave of expulsions are being threatened against members of the NDP. Four members of York Centre NDP Association have been summoned to a Committee hearing of the Provincial Executive on the basis of the enclosed charges sent in by Mr R.Clifton, President of York Centre - charges which were never brought before the membership.

We feel that the charges are completely irrelevant. Mr Clifton must be asked to present proof that we have harmed the party by our actions. The hearing Committee must demand this and judge us solely on this basis thus establishing once and for all that no ideas are suspect in the NDP and that only actions detrimental to the party may be condemned. In a democratic society or a democratic party this is the inalienable right of all.

The personal and political implications of the result of this hearing are extremely serious - not only for the four people involved (most of them with professional status in the community); not only for the "list" of other members that Mr Clifton is currently investigating and setting up informers for, but for the whole of the NDP and our society at large in the North American context of today. A McCarthyite witch hunt condoned or allowed to develop by the NDP is impermissible.

Have we been delinquent in our duty towards the NDP?  
We believe we have.

We were delinquent when we did not condemn loudly and clearly the campaign of crass slanders organized against Jim Norton (Candidate for Provincial and Federal election at that time) which did so much damage to the NDP election campaign. We did not investigate the meetings reportedly held at Mr Clifton's (unknown to the membership) to pressure Jim to resign as Candidate because of personal prejudices. Jim had been overwhelmingly elected by the membership. Jim later resigned from the Riding and we in York County lost a most intelligent and capable member as well as many others who became inactive because of distaste for this situation.

We were delinquent when we did not protest loudly and clearly at the membership and Provincial Executive level when the membership voted to support the April 6th demonstration(1969) and Mr Clifton refused to inform the rest of the membership of this support and of the time, date and place of this action.

We were delinquent in our duty to the NDP when we did not raise hell both at the membership and Provincial Executive level when the membership elected Mr s Bryant to organize a grape boycott in the area and set up a meeting for a representative of the United Farm Workers. She was refused any help at all - even the membership and contact list to do a phoning for the meeting.

We were delinquent in our duty to the NDP when Mr Clifton wrote a letter condemning Mr Harney, Executive Secretary of the Party for speaking at a May Day Rally where unionists and organizations of all political persuasions were speaking, and we did not try to bring this up at a membership meeting. The membership would have rejected out of hand this ridiculous action.

We have now heard that a rumor is being circulated and allegedly accepted as fact by one of the members of the hearing Committee, that Mrs Bryant was expelled at one time from the NDP and "snuck back in under a family membership". This is completely false of course and can be verified by looking up the records of the NDP.

And though we have been unvigilant in guarding democracy in our Riding, have we harmed the NDP in any way by our actions, during the 8 years that some of us have served on the executive, as delegates to Conventions, etc. We think not and we would ask our fellow members to demand of the Provincial Executive to judge the accused totally on their actions in the NDP thus establishing that ideas can be expressed freely in the NDP without fear of punishment and that only actions detrimental to the party shall be condemned.

Anna Wilkie  
Bea Bryant  
Archie McGugan

(Helen Cowan has moved away)

The following motion was carried overwhelmingly by York North (which at one time formed part of our Riding)

Motion by Ann Griffiths, seconded by Don McFadyen "That York North Riding Association notify the Provincial President, Executive and Council that we object to expulsions from the New Democratic Party on the basis that some members have ideas not shared by all other members; such expulsions can only have deleterious effects on the New Democratic Party. A truly democratic party can only condemn actions which are detrimental to the party; not ideas or beliefs held by members.

-signed Molly McManingwell, Secretary York North 11/19/69

We would be most happy if you would discuss this in your Riding Association and send resulting motions to the Provincial Executive, 11½ Spadina, Toronto and a copy to B. Bryant, 408 Cairns Drive, Richmond Hill (tel 884 3319). You are free to circulate the charges and our statement as widely as you wish.

B. Bryant

408 Cairns Dr.,  
Richmond Hill  
Ontario



The following is a copy of "evidence" which Mr Clifton sent to the Provincial executive accompanying a demand for our expulsion and notifying it that there were others on whom he had not yet done enough research.

MRS ANNA WILKIE

One Susan Dodds completed a form and mailed it with Two Dollars to the "League for Socialist Action", Box 281, Richmond Hill. She received back a receipt (Exhibit No 1) to her for Two Dollars, "Donation to R.Hill L.S.A. and signed Anna Wilkie. Mrs Wilkie is also Treasurer of the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Newspaper item, Exhibit No 2)

MRS BEATRICE BRYANT

Mrs Bryant is Secretary of the York Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Exhibit No 2) Some time after the arrival of the receipt referred to, Susan Dodds received a letter from Mrs Bryant, saying that she had been given her address to \* Jim Chisholm, and inviting her to a meeting of the York Committee. Susan Dodds also received an invitation to a meeting of "Toronto Young Socialists" (Nos 3 & 4). John Sutherland son of one of our members was invited by Archie McGugan to a meeting at Mrs Bryant's house to see a film. There were five young people there, with Jim Chisholm acting as chairman. They called themselves "Young Socialists". (His statement is No 5) Jim Chisholm has been brought to two recent meetings of the EDP Riding Association by Mrs Bryant. I am informed that he has been refused membership in the Young New Democrats on the ground of supporting another political party.

MR ARCHIE MCGUGAN

A circular sent out and headed "YORK N.D.P." appeals to the recipient to attend a demonstration at the City Hall on Easter Sunday, and to contribute financially, and "For further information or transportation contact Archie McGugan, 889 1694". This was not authorized by the York Centre Riding Association. There is no "York" riding; nonetheless the circular suggests official N.D.P. support in the area (No 6)

Jim Chisholm rose to oppose the passing of a by-law at a General Meeting of the Riding Association. His right to do so, not being a member, was challenged by a member present, who moved that he be asked to withdraw. The motion passed, and after an argument, he left. He said he was a member of the Young New Democrats. He is not and there is + branch of the YND in the Riding. Mr McGugan left with him, and came back ten or fifteen minutes later.

Mr McGugan invited John Sutherland to a Young Socialist meeting (No 5)

MRS HELEN COWAN

A circular was received by Susan Dodds, inviting her to come to a meeting at the house of Mrs Cowan, to hear Dick Fidler, Managing Editor of the Workers' Vanguard, and adding, "For further information, phone Jim Chisholm 221 8129.(No 7)

\* probably "to" should be by  
+ probably "no" was left out here



## RON HAGGART

THE TELEGRAM, Toronto, Tues., Oct. 29, 1968

# Real issue of the march

We will see that the law is upheld.

*Police spokesman  
on Station CBL*

Thirty-four people were arrested Saturday afternoon as several hundred policemen, mounted and on foot, forced two separate anti-Vietnam war marches to comply with City bylaws.

*Globe and Mail  
Oct. 28, 1968*

Everyone saved face on Saturday. The Vietnam marchers got from Queen's Park to City Hall; a smaller contingent got from Queen's Park to the U.S. consulate.

The police kept the marchers off Yonge st. which, for them, was as much a point of pride as a point of law.

No one had his head cracked by a lead-filled billy. No tear gas was used.

Police on horses, flanks turned to the crowd, kept the marchers from the verboten main street. Police on motorcycles kept the marchers, except for a brief period, confined to the sidewalk.

The police plan was one of strategic brilliance carried out with tactical skill.

But what was it all in aid of?

### Police-made laws

The sole responsibility of the police, as correctly summarized by a deputy chief on the radio, is to uphold the law.

But the law being enforced by the line of mounted and motorcycle policemen on Saturday was not, as the *Globe and Mail* so naively put it, a City bylaw.

The *Globe's* error is understandable. Few decent people can conceive of laws which are written by the top echelon of the police department and then enforced by that same police department.

The so-called law which says who may parade and who may not parade on the streets of Toronto was not written by any elected or responsible tribunal.

It was written by the five members of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Commission, only one of whose members is elected (and not to the police commission, but to some other municipal post, from whence he is sent, as a very minor part-time job, to the police commission).

### Purple pants allowed

This entirely undemocratic commission, answerable to no one but itself, has written a so-called law which dictates who may march on Yonge st. and who may not.

Its effect is that silly old men in purple pants may peddle up Yonge st. on tricycles when the Shriners are in town, but peaceful citizens anxious to advertise their views on the greatest moral issue of our age may not.

The decision as to who should be allowed to march up a city's main street is a political decision. There are two conflicting forces at work: The need to keep the city centre open for commerce, trade and convenience and, at the same time, the obligation to promote both gaiety and free speech in the downtown core.

But, according to police officials, the decision not to allow the Vietnam protesters to march south on Yonge st., and the offer to permit a march north on Yonge st. from the waterfront to Queen st. (an offer which was turned down) was made by a single senior officer, acting on behalf of a deputy chief. Thus, authority which is vested in the police commission is delegated downward about three steps — and this is presented as being the "law" of the land.

### Politicians pass the buck

A decision to allow Elk, Moose, Buffalo, Shriners or Vietnam protesters to march down Yonge st. is a political decision involving conflicting consumer interests, and municipal councillors are elected to make precisely that type of decision.

They shirk their own duty and they impose an unfair and unjust burden on the police department when they demand these political decisions from men in uniform.

No municipal politician is anxious to assume these burdens. The politicians are quite happy to let the police take the blame. When the Vietnam protesters asked the Toronto Board of Control to intervene with the police commission, the controllers quickly decided it was none of their business.

The immediate need is to strip from the Metropolitan Toronto Police Commission its power to pass these so-called laws. Only the Provincial Government can effect this simple reform.

Of course, the metropolitan police commission could voluntarily relinquish its absurd and anachronistic power to pass "laws." But have you ever heard of anyone voluntarily relinquishing the joys of arbitrary power?

Ron Haggart tells it like it was. He points out clearly the dictatorial and discriminatory nature of the Police Commission, over which the people of Toronto have no control.

The police attack on our peaceful march is clear political discrimination—an assault on our rights to demonstrate our opposition to the Vietnam war. It showed the complicity of police and city government in the Vietnam war.

In face of this attack we showed our determination not to be cowed by arbitrary police power. We maintained the unity and the purpose of our march, and showed the active opposition of close to 3,000 Torontonians to the Vietnam war.

VIETNAM MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE  
Joe Young, Executive Secretary  
241 Victoria St., tel. 364-5030

(Found in 1969)  
(PKT-1968, pre-Waffle)

**A  
SOCIALIST  
PROGRAM  
For An  
NDP-CIVIC  
GOVERNMENT**

a Socialist Caucus contribution to  
the NDP municipal program discussion



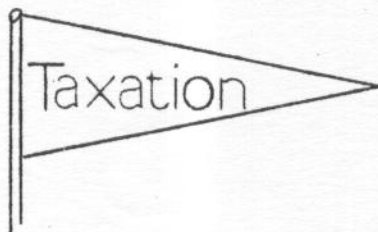
# Why This Contribution ?

The growth of left-wing opinion within the party as expressed in the Socialist Caucus and the welcome development of the group sponsoring the manifesto "For An Independent Socialist Canada", reflects concern about the very nature of the party as it moves closer to power. The lesson of the British Labour Party, and its acceptance of a social system it had vowed to change is clear to all. Yet we see that the NDP, as it grows in strength, displays a similar reluctance to put forward a program which will bring about meaningful social change.

For example the Party's hesitancy in coming to grips with the housing crisis - its failure to advocate and renege the resolution passed at the Ontario convention calling for direct government provision of all necessary housing. The gap between convention decisions on major questions and "interpretation" of these decisions by the party leadership must be of great concern to the party membership. Involved is the whole question of HOW TO BUILD THE PARTY.

The limitations of a purely electoral vote-catching approach has been amply demonstrated both in the disastrous election results of 1968 and in the recent B.C. elections. To make the Manitoba victory meaningful the party must build a movement on firm principled foundations, and on day to day involvement in the problems which confront working people - labour struggle, tenants movements, ethnic minorities, student and women's rights, the anti-war movement. Otherwise our goal of creating political and economic democracy will fail.

It is with the hope that the growing ferment within the party across the country will find expression in our Toronto Municipal campaign that we present these, our proposals for a socialist municipal program.



The man in the street, the small home owner and indirectly the apartment tenant and roomer carry a disproportionate and ever increasing tax burden. Yet 1/3 of the city's 2.1 billion assessment is tax exempted.

We in the NDP demand therefore:

1. Transfer of the unfair burden of taxation from home owners and residents to business and industry.
2. Elimination of all tax exemptions on non-residential properties (churches, Royal York Hotel, business incentives etc)
3. Municipal capital gains tax to eliminate land speculation.



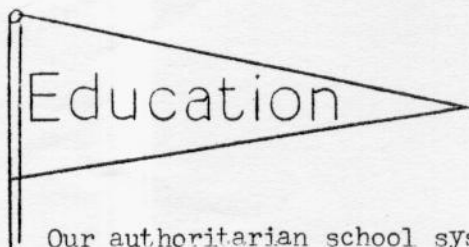
Big business is entrenched in the very structure and process of the municipal government through appointees, property qualifications etc.

We in the NDP demand therefore:

1. One man one vote (no property considerations)
2. All citizens eligible to run for all offices (teachers mun. empl)
3. election of members of boards and commissions (Planning board, licencing commission, Police Commission etc)
4. no dual office holders

POLICE continued from page 6

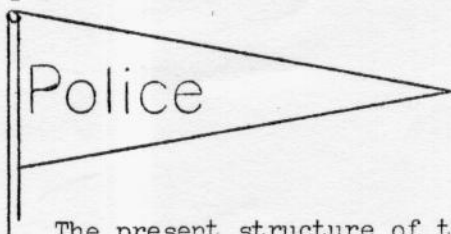
4. Immediate stop to electronic surveillance
5. Full collective bargaining rights for policemen including the right to strike.



Our authoritarian school system shapes most of our children into robots for the assembly line. The system is rigged in favor of the rich. Children of an average family (\$5000 - \$6000) have 1/15 the chance of a \$15,000 income family to get to university.

We in the NDP demand therefore:

1. Student and teacher control of schools and participation on boards.
2. Free university
3. An end to educational discrimination in poor districts
4. A living allowance for students
5. Teachers be given the right to collective bargaining and to strike.
6. Community use of schools for free day care nurseries and evening activities under the community's control

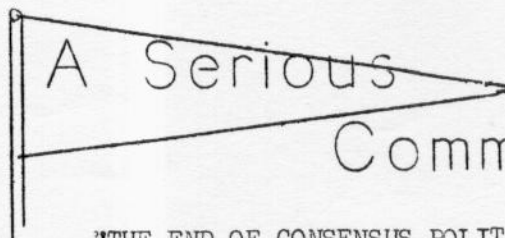


The present structure of the Toronto Police Commission violates the democratic concept of separation of police from the judiciary. Under their control the police have been consistently used to break workers' strikes, harass protest demonstrations (Oct. 26 1968 Anti Vietnam War Demonstration), violate the civil rights of citizens (wiretapping), and criminally misuse their arms (Nobrega case).

We in the NDP demand therefore:

1. Immediate disarming (guns, mace etc) of police
2. Citizens control of police through an elected Police Commission
3. Right to demonstrate and picket in places of public access





# A Serious Commitment

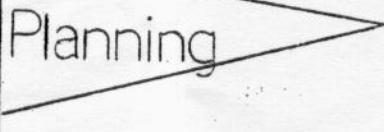
"THE END OF CONSENSUS POLITICS AND A NEW RADICALISM FOR THE NDP!" That has been the rhetoric of the party leadership since the June '68 elections. It has tapped a genuine response from the ranks, and a demand that our identification with labour - with the working population of Canada - be cemented with a program which clearly reflects that identity.

A program which will seriously challenge our profit-motivated, profit-dominated society. A program which presents the socialist solution to the problems which are paramount in the lives of working people.

The Civic Elections will be the acid test of the seriousness of the Party's commitment. It will take the debate on "The Welfare State - Or Beyond?" now being confined to the pages of the New Democrat on to the level of program - a program for power in the cities -- for an NDP CIVIC GOVERNMENT!

The policy discussions taking place in the coming months are vital. Thousands of people in this city are fearful of the future in an affluent society which cannot and will not solve the appalling housing crisis, the crushing burden of taxation on those who can least afford to pay - just two of the most pressing problems facing working people.

The NDP Program must relate to the causes of society's ills - the effect of the Vietnam War for example on the rising cost of living. (Morton Schulman made this relationship very clear recently on TV.) The NDP must measure up to its responsibility to present a program which meets the needs of the working population of Toronto, a socialist program. It is in this context that the SOCIALIST CAUCUS presents its program for discussion within the party.



Planning

And



Transportation

Our cities are chaotic, polluted, ugly and inhumane. Why? Because profits have been and still are the criteria for anything to get done or not done. The NDP does not depend on or represent profiteers and can therefore bring about a fundamental change.

We in the NDP should therefore demand:

1. An overall plan that puts "people before profits"
2. Renewed cities where slums and outdated sectors are replaced with homes and community facilities for everyone, a real testimony to technology, wealth, and social responsibility.
3. Immediate implementation of park requirements with expropriation where necessary.
4. Free transit and commuter service.
5. End to pollution (close down enterprises which do not take the necessary steps to eliminate pollution i.e. Erco)
6. Participation by residents in the planning and controlling of their communities.
7. Full recompense to anyone who is affected by changes which are needed for the good of the majority.

# Housing And Tenants

15,000 applicants on the waiting list for public housing in Metro Toronto ! Canadians are forced to pay 38.6% of their income for housing. Americans pay only approx. 25%. The NDP calls housing a social service like education.

We in the NDP demand therefore:

1. Implementation of the ONDP resolution passed at its 1968 convention which called housing "a direct government responsibility from the planning and land assembly stage through to the construction and maintenance stage and that such housing be put under the control of its tenants and that sufficient housing be provided: that its cost would represent not more than 20% of the occupant's income".
2. Expropriation of areas suitable for residences on vacant and under-used land now held for speculation and marginal industries.
3. Building of a variety of homes integrated into the existing community. These to be built by our own unionized Public Works Department using the 75% grants which are now available under N.H.A.
4. Rehabilitation loans at cost to owner-occupants.

In 20th century Toronto the majority of households, tenants, are still living under feudal conditions: exploited like feudal serfs by a Landlord and Tenant Act which is 400 years old.

We in the NDP demand:

1. Collective bargaining rights for tenants.
2. Tenant management of housing projects
3. Security of tenure even without lease
4. Tenants representation on planning boards
5. Active support for the formation of Tenants Associations throughout Metro.



## PUBLICATIONS

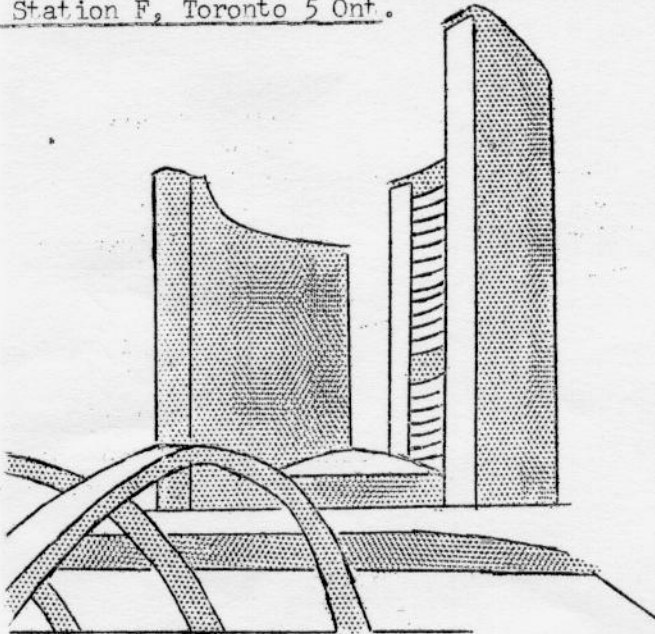
"FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA" obtainable through Giles Endicott, 42 Chesterhill Rd., Toronto 6

Socialist Causus publications:

"THE MYTH OF SWEDISH SOCIALISM" 15¢

"THE B.C. FOREST INDUSTRY AND THE NDP - MONOPOLY OR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP" 25¢

These can be obtained from the Socialist Causus,  
Box 872, Station F, Toronto 5 Ont.



Please help us defray the cost of producing this pamphlet by sending a contribution to the Socialist Causus at the above address

labour donated

(Undated)

(AUGUST 20 - 1972)

A CALL FOR A LEFT CAUCUS

A new caucus -- the Left Caucus -- will be formed tonight to carry the struggle for Party democracy and socialism to the NDP rank and file. We welcome the participation of all those, including MISC supporters, who genuinely wish to work with us in continuing the struggle.

It is understood, of course, that what is being discussed tonight is implementing the fight back struggle, not repeating the arguments in favour of the various options.

We will link the struggle for Party democracy with a struggle for a program to achieve socialism and independence for the Canadian working class movement by continuing our agitation around the issues of self-determination for Quebec, public ownership, women's liberation and the defence of workers' struggles.

We intend to carry our program deep into the party in a sustained and organized way at the riding and trade union levels.

We also intend to conduct extra-parliamentary activity, sponsored by NDP ridings and affiliated trade union locals.

While we intend to pose our politics in a sharp and militant way, we will maintain a low organizational profile. Organizational side-issues have been a traditional ploy of the leadership in dealing with political dissent, so we want to avoid unnecessary ones which would obscure the real political issues and provide the leadership with a wedge to divide us from the ranks by calling us a party within a party.

A major focus of our activities leading up to the December ONDP convention will be to establish the right of caucuses to organize themselves in the party the year round.

We want to break with the elitist traditions of Waffle politics by encouraging maximum participation in the caucus, and we will encourage the broadest possible representation on a proposed interim liaison committee.

Join us.

### THE LEFT CAUCUS

(Formerly the supporters of Option 5)

PS - The meeting will be held in the main floor lounge at 8:30.



The Waffle Conference in London on August 19-20 will be seen as the turning point , the beginning of a period of unprecedented growth for the left-wing in the N.D.P.

Over the two days of the conference , the 'Stay and Fight' position was tested in debate and its forces emerged from the conference as the Left Caucus. Preparation for the floor fight against the M.I.S.C. proposal , a plan originating with Watkins and Laxer to leave the party, began on the Friday night before the conference at a Strategy session which discussed the poor preparation made by the Waffle Steering Committee for the conference, the high registration cost and the denial of speaking and voting rights to hundreds of Wafflers who were allowed only observer status at the conference.

During the opening session on Saturday, votes on procedural questions gave first indications of M.I.S.C. strength. A proposal for an open conference, made because M.I.S.C. had disproportionately large delegations from Toronto ( from West Metro only three delegates out of eighteen opposed M.I.S.C. although they represented 45% of the riding.) and Ottawa was voted down. A motion for full speaking rights for observers failed.

The main debate centred around the M.I.S.C. proposal. Varda Kidd introduced the 'Stay and Fight' position in a ten minute speech which was backed up by interventions from the floor during the rest of the debate.

People supporting the 'Stay and Fight' position noted the tremendous gains made so far by the Waffle and the threat to success posed to the leadership.

Generally , the 'Stay and Fight' position was an affirmation of our chief objective - to win the N.D.P. to a programme of independence and socialism.

A meeting of area representatives of the left caucus convened at Belvoir centre, London Ont., Sunday Aug. 20/72. at 10:15 a.m.

Jean Dearing, (Windsor) was elected chairperson for the meeting. Craig McKay, (St. Catharines) elected secretary.

The following agenda was proposed and adopted:

- 1 Reading of names of area representatives.
- 2 Waffle mailing list - negotiating committee.
- 3 Women's caucus.
- 4 Discussion of situations of local groups.
- 5 Preconvention Conference.
- 6 Relations with Waffle in other provinces.

### 1 Reading of names of area representatives

The interm list of area representatives was read. 34 members were present as well as several observers.

Motion by Varda Kidd, (Toronto)/ carried:

that a mailing be done of a bulletin containing news of the weekend, decisions and minutes of the Sunday meeting.

It was suggested that St. Catharines prepare and carry out the mailing. Agreed by consensus.

### 2 Waffle mailing list - negotiating committee

Motion by Steve Penner, (Toronto)/ carried:

that a three person committee be struck off to negotiate with MISC leadership for the former Waffle mailing list but that they avoid the problem of money from the London meeting.

It was felt that we had a right to the Waffle mailing list.

Nominations for the negotiating committee:

Joe Flexer, (Toronto), Claire Nurbonne, (Sudbury)  
and Mike Ornstein, (Toronto)

Nominations were closed and the above persons accepted and were made the committee. The committee left but returned shortly when MISC leaders refused to negotiate with them. Laxer and Watkins preferred to negotiate later in the week.

The committee was enlarged by the inclusion of the following persons: Roger Harper (St. Catharines) Heather Maroney (Peterborough) John Walsh (Windsor) and Arthur Gray (Orillia).

They were instructed to return and negotiate with the MISC leadership after 12:00 p.m.

### 3 Women's Caucus

- (a) A discussion was held whether left caucus women would attend the MISC women's caucus meeting. It was agreed that individual could attend if they so chose.
- (b) It was decided that the left caucus women would have a short Luncheon meeting to elect a three person committee to organize N.D.P. women.
- (c) It was agreed that all areas would attempt to attain parity in their representatives to the steering committee.

#### 4. Discussion of Situation in Local Groups

- (a)(i) A discussion was held on the geographical problems of northern area delegations attending conferences. Joe Flexer (Toronto) suggested that the financial burden of out of town delegations should be born by the left caucus as a whole. This would help in achieving full participation of these areas at conferences.
- (ii) It was suggested that consideration be given to weighted delegations: votes to northern and distant area delegations to overcome the geographical factors in their attending conferences in southern Ontario.
- (b) Charles Lee (St. Catharines) announced that the St. Catharines group was having a meeting on Aug. 23rd to discuss the London conference. He suggested that since they would be announcing the formation of the left caucus it might have a bearing on the left caucus as a whole.

It was pointed out that the mistake of the Waffle was to operate centrally and dictate actions and strategy to local groups from the center in Toronto.

It was agreed that the left caucus would attempt to expand, strengthen and involve local riding associations and activists in the life of the local caucuses. The local problems could best be solved by local NDP left caucus members. In this way the local area groups would be encouraged to build and initiate their own actions and policy thereby deepening left caucus ideas within their own riding associations. Varda Kidd (Toronto) pointed out that the press release and resolution should be the basis for internal local policy.

#### 5. Pre Convention Conference

Motion by Varda Kidd, (Toronto) / carried:  
that the following guidelines be given to the a preconvention conference committee;

- (i) Northern Ontario (ii) Nature of the caucus (iii) Women's Question (iv) Evaluation of the Waffle (v) Extra parliamentary campaign (vi) Quebec strikebreaking (vii) Foreign Policy (viii) Relation with Waffle in other provinces, and (ix) Resolutions for ONDP Convention.

It was generally agreed that the programme and resolutions arrived at, at the Toronto conference would form the basis of our programmatic intervention in the ONDP riding discussions and December convention.

A committee was set up to organize arrangements for the Toronto September conference and to act as area contacts for information on the conference.

The following committee was struck off:

Pat Noonan (Windsor), Craig McKay (St. Catharines),  
Ron Ross (London), Steve Watson (Ottawa),  
Arthur Gray (Orillia), Wally Belyea (Peterborough).

Other names to be added when areas choose their representatives.



Motion Joe Flexer (Toronto)/ carried;  
that Toronto bear the major cost of the conference.

Mike Ornstein (Toronto) was picked as financial resource person for the conference.

It was accepted that Toronto conference contacts would initiate a planning meeting within the next two weeks at the convenience of area representatives.

#### 6 Relations with Waffle in other provinces

Motion by Steve Penner (Toronto)/ carried;  
that a contact committee be chosen to communicate with Waffle groups in other provinces.

The committee was composed as follows;

Jim Monk (Windsor)

Steve Penner (Toronto)

Pierre Fortin (Sudbury)

Motion by Tom Regan (St. Catharines)/ carried: To adjourn

Adjournment 12:15.

MINUTES OF THE TORONTO SECTION OF THE  
LIAISON COMMITTEE\*\*August 31

1. The following agenda is proposed for the conference. It is put forward to guide the discussion of the whole of the Liaison Committee.

Friday Evening: Plenary on Québec--a political analysis, rather than a big name speaker. Because out of town delegates might have difficulty in arriving in time for this session, it was felt the main discussion could not start until Saturday morning.

Saturday

9:30am-1:00pm: A general debate on the nature of the left caucus. It will involve an evaluation of the experience of the Waffle and it will begin to formulate the broad policy of the Left Caucus. The issues will be presented briefly by a panel.

1:00-2:00pm: Lunch

2:00-4:00pm: Presentation and discussion on organizing in single industry and resource towns. Also the problems of organizing in Toronto.

4:00-6:00pm: Workshops on the following topics--public ownership and resource industries; Québec; labour issues; foreign policy; federal election. A workshop on Education was suggested also. We request direction on other workshops from across the province.

7:00-9:00pm: Womens' caucus and an educational on womens' politics for the men.

9:00pm on: Social

Sunday

9:30am-12noon: Plenary dealing with resolutions arising from the workshops, and others.

12noon-1:00pm: Lunch

1:00-4:00pm: Continuing resolutions. Discussions of campaigns relating to the resolutions, Elections.

2. The Ontario Organizing Committee simply called for the holding of an Ontario Liaison Committee meeting on Saturday, 9 Sept. from 11:00 am on. It was resolved that minutes of this Toronto section be circulated to the whole of the Liaison Committee.

3. Report of the Conference arrangements committee:

There are a number of good possibilities for a conference site. We still have not obtained the Waffle mailing list and Ross Ashley and Charlene Luboff will contact people and attempt to get it.

The Arrangements Committee advises that resolutions for circulation throughout the province prior to the conference should be sent to our Toronto Box to arrive by 13 September. Resolutions received after that date or brought to the conference will be reproduced, but circulated only at the conference.

The Ontario Organizing committee was asked to consult with each of the out of Toronto centres about their needs for a travel pool and to bring back concrete recommendations on how it should be set up.

The Toronto meeting circular was to include a request for donations and we recommend that other groups raise money in the same way. Two persons were chosen to lead in fund raising: Ron Mayne and Mike Ornstein.

Billeting and day-care will be arranged for the conference, more details will follow.

#### Report of the Toronto Organizing Committee:

There will be a Toronto area meeting on Thursday, 7 September at J.J. McGrand School at 7:30pm. A mailing was to be done to a selected list of Wafflers and NDPers. Billets and travel pool money will be arranged at the meeting. Volunteers will be accepted for a Toronto working committee to exist up to the time of the conference.

End.



# LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE

## LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE

to discuss policy for the Ontario NDP ~~municipal~~ convention plus other matters.  
(open to all NDPers).

Fri. night Sept. 22 - Sun. Sept. 24

PLACE: **DONVALE COMMUNITY CENTRE**  
80 Winchester (1 block east of Parliament St.  
Toronto

REGISTRATION: Fee \$3.00 7:00-8:00 pm. Fri. Sept. 22

CHILD CARE: is free and it will be provided for the complete conference plus the social. Meals will be available at the conference.

BILLETING: will be available. Toronto people who are able to billet please call M. Margaret McIntosh (486-7534 or 466-9878)

AGENDA IN GENERAL: Fri. evening Sept. 22 - Plenary on Quebec.

Sat. Sept. 23 9:30-1:00 pm Nature of left caucus.  
1:00-2:00 pm Lunch  
2:00-4:00 pm Area Centre reports and analysis  
4:00-6:00 pm Workshops  
7:00-9:00 pm Woman's Caucus  
9:00 pm Social

Sun. Sept. 24 9:30 am-12 noon-Plenary on resolutions etc.  
12 noon - 1:00 pm-Lunch  
1:00-4:00 pm continuing plenary plus elections

## AGENDA IN DETAIL

What follows is a detailed explanation of the caucus sessions of the conference. The purpose of outlining some questions for the workshops is an attempt to provide some direction to the discussion in the workshops and to urge you to submit position papers and resolutions on these questions. Naturally resolutions on other matters will be welcome. Your position papers and resolutions should be based on how you evaluate the ONT. NDP and what program and actions you feel the ONT. NDP should adopt.

## PLENARY ON QUEBEC (Fri. evening)

would explore and attempt to provide a political analysis of Quebec. We have invited a number of people from Quebec who should be able to provide some valuable information on the current situation.

## NATURE OF LEFT CAUCUS

(Sat. 9:30 - 1:00 pm)

This would include a general debate on the nature of

the left caucus. It will involve an evaluation of the experience of the Waffle and we will begin to formulate the broad policy of the Left Caucus. The issues will be presented briefly by a panel.

## AREA CENTRE REPORTS AND ANALYSIS

(Sat. 2:00-4:00 pm)

Presentation and discussion on organizing in single industry and resource towns. Left caucus supporters in area centres are organizing this session.

WORKSHOPS (4:00-6:00 pm) will be run simultaneously because of the shortage of time.

## 1. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND RESOURCE INDUSTRIES.

- The 1970 Ont. NDP Provincial Convention voted overwhelmingly in favour of the nationalization of the energy resource industries. Yet this issue was chopped from the official party program and has never been carried by the Lewis leadership. How can the left caucus develop a campaign around this issue in the NDP?

-Some party members who are opposed to wide scale public ownership raise the question that there would not be sufficient capital in the ONT. public treasury to pay for the industries that should be nationalized.  
How do we or should we pay for it?

- To what extent should the left caucus advocate public ownership? Should we advocate wholesale nationalization or should we draw up a priority list and select these industries that have the greatest impact on the Ontario economy.

-Is public ownership a necessity to institute democratic economic planning or can this kind of rational economic planning be implemented by indirect means such as heavier taxation on the corporations?

-Does public ownership by itself lead to a qualitative change in the social relationship of workers in the nationalized industries?

-Can workers' control of a publicly or privately owned industry be legislated or is it a necessary product of struggle? How can the NDP aid in this struggle?

-Since most of our basic industries in Ontario are foreign owned and controlled by multi-national corporations (mainly American) does the public ownership of these industries provide the mechanism through which Canadian workers will be free of foreign socio-economic domination?

-Some party members say that large scale nationalization of foreign owned industries will lead to economic chaos because needed foreign capital investment will be withdrawn from Ontario. Is this true? How could an NDP government generate capital if it is true?

## WORKSHOP ON QUEBEC - guidelines for discussion and resolutions

### 1. Position on the National Question of Quebec.

(a) Present NDP position- it assumes a revised **federal** structure as the desirable structure for a 'Quebec within Confederation' - To what extent does the NDP position represent a refusal to come to terms with the reality of the situation in Quebec, in order not to escalate debate and tension within the party in English Canada?

(b) Waffle's position was one of support for self-determination. Until recently it appeared that the Quebec NDP also supported this position, but recent reports indicate that the Quebec party is running in the campaign on a "friendly federalism" platform. What does support for self-determination mean? Why has the idea of self-determination been supported by socialists historically? Under what conditions? If Quebec demands self-determination under a right-wing government how do we react?

(c) Many socialists go beyond the democratic demand of self-determination and call openly for an **independent and socialist** Quebec. Should we fight for such a position within the NDP?

What are the implications in terms of the different positions re: Quebec for an NDP Quebec presence in federal campaigns? What about the PQ?

## WORKSHOP ON QUEBEC

### 2. Class Struggle in Quebec

(a) How has the nationalist question and language struggle affected the deepening class struggle in Quebec if at all?

(b) The federal NDP leadership was careful to dissociate itself from the recent Quebec general strike. How should

NDP socialists in English-speaking Canada relate to this development?

## LABOUR WORKSHOP - GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION AND PAPERS

1. What should the left caucus do about strengthening ties with rank and file unionists? Is reconstitution of a caucus in the unions going to be possible? On what basis? Or is there an alternative form of union struggle?

2. How does the caucus relate to the basic "class issues" of the moment? Unemployment? Speedup? Plant shutdowns? Mass layoffs? Strikebreaking? What ideas do we take to the class, and **how** do we take them? Mass action campaigns? Internal struggle in the unions? Internal struggle in the party? What forms should these struggles take?

Should public ownership be posed as a resolution of these class problems? How?

3. Should the left caucus advocate "Canadian Unionist"

3. Should the left caucus advocate "Canadian Unionism"? Some say international unions since they are American dominated, are detrimental to Canadian workers - others contend that to fight effectively against multi-national corporations on an international level it is necessary to strengthen workers' organs rather than divide them?

## Workshop on Education

1. Many people see the need to support the fight of the separate schools for gov't. financial aid as a constitutional commitment that must be honoured or as an opportunity to begin to fully diversify a monolithic educational system, while others contend that ~~church and state must be separate~~, that religious indoctrination in any form is reactionary, and that the separate schools are the most repressive kind of schools to both students and teachers, and can in no way be supported by the taxation of the working class, itself kept in line by religious/capitalist ideology. How should socialists in the NDP relate to this issue?

## WORKSHOP ON EDUCATION

2. Some might say that progressive teachers should merely attempt to introduce progressive content into their subject matter, while others would contend that it lies in the objective interest of teachers to unite with their students in transforming the social relations between themselves, and the basis of power in the schools, towards achieving

From p. 2

student-faculty-staff control of education, with critical content; and that teachers should be organized in trade unions to that end, and not in 'federations' that carry the mystification of 'professionalism'. How should socialists in the NDP relate to the teachers' struggles.

### 3. CUTBACKS

How should the NDP react to the economic onslaught launched by the capitalist state on students in a low income position through the educational cutbacks..

### 4. DEMOCRACY IN THE SCHOOLS

The alienation of students, faculty and maintenance staff in an educational system that they do not control, and that serves as a training apparatus for the capitalist class and a renewer of its ideology, can only be begun to be solved by the democratic control of that institution by those popular elements possessing mutual veto powers over decision-making. How do socialists in the ONDP stress the need of the Party to carry this position to the public.

### 5. WOMEN IN EDUCATION

To what extent and by what means does the educational system socialize women to fulfill alienating and inferior roles in class society, and how do student and wider socialist struggles contribute to eliminating their oppression. Would parity for women in all important roles in the educational structure affect this situation?

6. Some socialists consider students petit-bourgeois and their struggles at best irrelevant. Others regard students as a largely declassed social layer that is interested although perhaps not uniformly, in the negation of alien-educational forms through struggle for democratization and also can be critically important towards stimulating socialist struggle. What do you think?

### FOREIGN POLICY WORKSHOP

#### VIETNAM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

-Some say that the most effective way to aid the Vietnamese struggle is to build mass action around the demand of self-determination for Vietnam, Out now, and End Canada's Complicity - others would stress in terms of demands victory to the National Liberation Front and/or solidarity with the Indo-Chinese revolution. Which ones do you think is the most correct strategy to apply in this area and how should we carry this campaign into the NDP?

- Should we advocate in the NDP, the full support of the party for national liberation struggles in the colonial and neo-colonial countries and territories?

#### CANADIAN IMPERIALISM.

What policies should we advocate in the NDP to solidarize the party with their peoples opposing the manifestation of Canadian economic interest in the Caribbean and South America?

#### RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA, CHINA ETC.

What should be the content of the NDP's program towards our relationships with these countries?

Should we advocate that the NDP support the campaign against suppression of political dissent in Russia and Czechoslovakia?

#### NATO NORAD

How do we mount an effective campaign in the NDP so that the party will popularize its program that calls for Canadian withdrawals from these alliances.

#### MIDDLE EAST

Does Israel have the right to exist as a nation-state? Should we support the Arab states in their conflict with Israel or should we support the self-determination struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionism and against the Arab states as well? Should we carry this position in the NDP?

#### IRELAND - Who should the NDP support?

**UNITED NATIONS** - The cornerstone of the NDP federal policy is built around the support for the United Nations. Should we oppose it?

#### Women's Caucus -- Some Guidelines for Discussion

##### 1. Role of Women's Caucus Within the Left Caucus

1. Women's caucus have played different roles and fulfilled different functions in different political organizations. How do we want our to function?

(a) Should the caucus be the arena where final decisions are made on the strategy on women's issues or does the organization as a whole perform this role?

(b) Is the caucus the place where women debate **all** the political questions facing the organization as a whole or only women's issues?

(c) Should the caucus actively undertake to develop political skills and abilities in women?

(d) Should it see as one of its tasks the holding of educational for the men in the organization on the issues in women's liberation?

(e) How much emphasis should the caucus put on the development of theory as a collective project?

(f) To what extent should the caucus see itself playing the "supportive" role that other women's groups have provided for women?

(g) What ongoing structures are necessary and/or desirable given the functions this caucus will undertake?

##### 2. Strategy on Women's Issues

###### 2. Strategy on Women's Issues

What is the main arena of work for women in the Left Caucus and what will that work be?

(a) Should the caucus see as its main priority of work building an NDP women's caucus across the political lines of the party and see its area of intervention exclusively (or almost so) within the NDP?

(b) Given the difficulties encountered in setting up just such a grouping within the NDP two years ago, should the caucus see a strategy as pushing the Left Caucus as a whole to champion the cause of women's liberation, advance strong policy within the party, and push the party to support mass action campaigns concerning women?

(c) If the party does not support women's issues actively should the women or the Left Caucus as a whole act independently or be prepared to act independently.

##### 3. The Development of Theory on the Woman Question This is a

This is a function of the Women's Caucus that we would like to single out for special consideration before the women meet. Strategy must be based on theory and analysis and the present situation of theory on the woman question is dismal, for a variety of historical reasons. Women should consider in advance some ways and methods that the caucus could adopt to develop theory. For example: the undertaking of certain designated projects, analytical and theoretical by individual women or working committees; the assignment of projects to different local groups of women; the drawing up of reading lists and courses of study to be distributed across the province; the planning of a conference to draw positions together and to formulate strategy arising out of them.

These are just some points to help focus discussion. If there are any other issues or questions, please raise them and if possible write something on them so that our discussions can proceed as productively as possible.

#### PLENARY SESSIONS ON SUNDAY SEPT. 24

will deal with resolutions that have been developed in the workshops and resolutions presented in general. In addition we would like to develop a strategy towards organizing the left in the NDP for the Provincial Convention.



GENERAL METRO WIDE MEETING FOR SUPPORTERS OF LEFT CAUCUS IN NDP

TIME: Thursday November 2, 7:30 pm

PLACE: Richard W. Scott Separate School

151 Rosemount Ave. (2 blocks south of St. Clair. 1 block west of Dufferin)

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The Metro Left Caucus hasn't met for a while, and with all the party work ahead of ourselves, it's obviously the time we should. The ONDP Convention is in early December, local NDP regional policy conferences begin in a week. Left Caucus policy positions arising out of our September founding conference are printed and ready for distribution, and riding associations will be meeting soon to debate issues and elect delegates. We have to organize to be at all those places armed with the ideas of socialism. We have also to work out a local organizing structure and elect representatives to the Ontario Left Caucus Coordinating Committee. With much of importance to do and little time to do it, it's clear that this meeting is vital. We urge you to make every effort to attend!

1972 ~~or 1973~~

Left Caucus/NDP  
Box 351, Downsview, Ont.

To: Supporters of the Left Caucus in the NDP,

Enclosed you will find copies of the organizational and programmatic resolutions passed by the first conference of the Left Caucus in the NDP held recently in Toronto. We must first of all apologize for the overly long delay in getting this material out to those who participated in the conference. A number of unforeseen technical difficulties and our organizational weaknesses (which are being combatted) were the reasons for this unfortunate delay.

The first resolution, entitled the 'Role of the Left Caucus in the NDP' was intended to provide a general organizational and political framework for the guidance of left caucus activists in the various riding associations and affiliated trade unions around the province.

The remaining resolutions were intended for the purpose of being raised and hopefully passed by riding associations and trade unions locals to be presented at the upcoming convention of the NDP in Ontario. This in the main, has already been accomplished and it is hoped that at the convention, these and other resolutions will provide a focus for the intervention of left caucus activists at the convention.

The task of having supporters of the Left Caucus elected as delegates and alternates to the Convention is well on the way to completion. We have already succeeded in electing a fairly impressive number of delegates and alternates. These people, together with others who will no doubt rally to us during the course of the convention will, we hope, provide us with the opportunity to again begin to move socialist politics within the NDP. We strongly urge every left caucus supporter to attend the NDP convention in order to take part in the important activities that the left caucus will undertake at the convention.

We are most anxious to hear from our activists and supporters around the province. We are interested in hearing about your experiences in carrying out the work of the caucus and about whatever problems you face in this work, so that this can be reported in our newsletter. We can be contacted through the mailing address appearing above. The following is a list of people who can be contacted in the various centres.

Hoping to see you all at the convention,

With Socialist Greetings  
The Provincial Co-ordinating Committee  
of the Left Caucus in the ONDP

Jackie Larkin, 402 Sackville, Toronto 280 - 416- 961-4532  
Peter Horbatiuk, 416-690-3828  
Pat Noonan, 3547 Sandwich St. Windsor (519) 256-1497  
Paul Wyman, Kitchener, 304 Louisa St. (519) 576-0841  
Anne Morrison, 356 Winchester, #3, Sudbury (705) 674-6884  
Craig McKay, 15 Manning, St. Catharines, (416) 684-2508  
Chris Harries, 59 George St., Hamilton (416) 525-7117  
Heather Jon Maroney, 452 Hopkins St. Peterborough (705) 745-0974  
Peter Cassidy, R.R.1 Whitby, Ajax, Oshawa, (416) 942-1375  
Christ Schrenk, 33 Rosemount, #18, Ottawa, (613) 728-4965

## THE ROLE OF THE LEFT CAUCUS IN THE NDP

1. As socialists we work in the New Democratic Party because it is the only relevant political formation for the majority of class conscious workers. We also intend to rally the party behind struggles that are vital to the working class waged by women, students, tenants, anti-war activists and other radicalizing sectors with a view to making the NDP support the struggles of these sectors. While we recognize that the NDP is the progressive expression of the idea of independent political action by the working class, its leadership (both political and trade union) channels class struggle into safe parliamentarism.

2. We intend to involve ourselves in the internal life of the Party, rally the Party ranks in action, work for the election of NDP governments, and challenge those governments to implement, and advance beyond, the current Party program to working class power and socialism.

3. In view of the developing attack on labour we see the key task of socialists in the NDP as:

a) challenge the NDP and union brass to take the initiative in militantly defending the workers' movement and

b) attempt to mobilize Party and union rank and files to provide leadership around the same issues-- anti-labour legislation, professional strikebreaking and a possible wage freeze.

Our perspective in raising these issues must be that only militant action by the working class is sufficient to defend its interests.

4. Two key issues which are of immediate importance to the struggle for socialism are Quebec and the liberation of women. Quebec is strategically important because it has become the focal point for the class struggle within the Canadian state. English Canadian socialists have an important responsibility to expose attempts to divide Quebecois and English Canadian workers by appeals to English Canadian national chauvinism. Womens liberation is also a key question; the mass radicalization of women in response to sexual oppression challenges the key aspects of capitalist ideology and institutions. In this respect socialists must fight the present apathy and indifference of the NDP and the labour movement with regards to womens' oppression. We must support the existing and developing movements around abortion, day-care and equal pay and win the NDP and the labour movement to support such struggles. In our campaigns and activities around labour questions we must continually inject the question of the super-exploitation of women workers as they relate to the specific issue. Our overall goal must be the convergence of the womens' liberation struggle for and the struggle for socialism. Full support for the liberation of women must be an integral part of a socialist program for the working class movement in Canada.

5. Our perspective must be at all times to involve the NDP and trade union rank and file in mass action campaigns.

6. Our structures must be kept at a low profile without any compromise whatsoever in our politics. We must insure that if an attack comes, it is an attack on our politics rather than our structures.

7. We must militantly defend the right of organized caucuses to exist in the Party.

8. We wish to encompass all those Party members who are willing to pose a socialist alternative to the NDP.

In structuring the Left Caucus we need to be aware of two points:

1. In the orientation toward riding work whether within one riding or around mass campaigns through a number of riding associations and union locals, there is a need to recognize the autonomy of local groups.

2. In creating a provincial structure we respond only to the need for communication between centres and for a means of co-ordinating whatever provincial campaigns the Left Caucus decides upon. The structure should guarantee that political decisions do not come from the co-ordinating committee but rather through the local groups or through our conferences.

Be it resolved that:

a) a provincial co-ordinating committee be established which would be responsible to the previous conference for its political direction

b) the committee would be composed of two people from each centre, one man and one woman (where possible) to be selected by local groups (Toronto, keeping the previous three groups would have six)

c) the committee would give effect to province-wide campaigns would they arise

d) a newsletter which is not editorial and which is composed solely of information or position papers sent from local groups or individuals will also be the responsibility of this committee.

Be it also resolved that:

the present Ontario co-ordination committee be responsible for two further actions

1. to convene the first co-ordinating committee meeting

2) to produce and mail out the first newsletter which should include the minutes of this conference including any resolutions passed and a full list of contacts for Ontario.

Be it further resolved that:

1. Left Caucus policy position arises from open conferences called at regular intervals or as critical issues arise

2. and that resolutions passed, be resolutions of intent, circulated to left caucus supporters to be adapted for use in their own ridings.



The present situation of world capitalism is compelling big business in Canada to mount a concerted attack on the standard of living and working conditions of the English Canadian and Quebec working classes.

Economically this is expressed through a constant rise in the cost of living coupled increasing unemployment caused in part by plant closures and mass layoffs.

Politically the attack is expressed through:

1. a propaganda campaign against unions, blaming them for inflation
  2. increasing demands of capitalists and their parliamentary spokesmen for wage and price freezes. Wage controls in a capitalist society are designed solely to limit or diminish the wages of workers and protect corporate profits.
  3. growing attacks on the organizational independence and power of the unions through the use of strike-breaking legislation, court injunctions against mass picketing and legal impediments to the ability of workers to organize themselves into unions. The increasing use of professional strikebreaking companies is an important manifestation of this trend.
- In this situation the NDP must:

1. give no support to government strikebreaking as it did by supporting the back-to-work legislation ending the longshoremen's strike
2. urge the abolition of all restrictive labour legislation and when in power itself abolish all such legislation. The right to strike cannot be denied either at the time of contract negotiations, or during the life of a collective agreement.
3. a legislated cost of living bonus for all wage workers and pensioners
4. a legislated 32-hour work week with no loss of pay
5. the NDP must actively support day to day struggles of labour with a class struggle program and it should undertake a mass educational campaign within the party and general public to alert them to the attack being mounted against the standard of living of the working class and the effective power of its organizations. To this end it should call an emergency conference on the issues of wage freeze if wage controls are introduced and this should involve riding associations and affiliated unions and other groups to plan action against the freeze. In a similar way, it should also, when necessary, call a conference around the issue of mass layoffs and plant closures.
6. the NDP must initiate, through ridings and unions, a mass action campaign against the strike-breaking companies and the assault on labour
7. If the NDP leadership and trade union bureaucrats are unwilling to lead such a campaign then we should attempt to initiate this through riding associations and our contacts in trade unions.

(NB—the last two clauses (6 and 7) are not for inclusion in resolutions, but for direction of left caucus activists)

8. On women workers—see resolution on basic principles of left caucus and specific resolution on women.

## Specific Resolution on Longshoremen's Strike

Whereas the voters of the NDP's federal caucus in favour of back-to-work legislation which ended the strike of longshoremen in Quebec and in BC is completely inconsistent with the party's long standing policy of opposing state interference in the collective bargaining process,

And whereas no socialist party should ever support state action against any section of the labour movement

We insist firstly that the votes of all elected representatives of the NDP be consistent with the policies adopted by the party's convention and secondly that the party reaffirm its unconditional support of workers' right to strike in defence of their interests and its opposition to compulsory arbitration.

## RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND RESOURCE INDUSTRIES:

Socialism is a political philosophy which is based on the belief that the individual fulfills oneself by directing work and energy to the benefit of the entire community. Public ownership, the control of economic power by working people, is essential if we are to break the monopoly domestic and foreign corporations and build a socialist society based on popular control and workers' self-management. But public ownership is not sufficient of itself; the workers must collectively control and direct the publically-controlled industries in which they work.

The provincial program of the party argues for the introduction of public ownership on a piecemeal basis which fits in well with the leadership's view that the problems faced by the people of Ontario can be resolved by a kind of 'pragmatic radicalism' approach which sees corporate capitalism being brought into line through such regulations as tax and interest rate manipulations, etc. While it is true that the introduction of regulations may lead to some improvement in the performance of the Canadian economy, they do not of themselves transfer the economic and political power held by the privileged few to the class as a whole.

It is with this perspective that we adopt the following principles:

1. as part of its political program, the NDP must commit itself to the immediate nationalization of resource industries and financial institutions, including banks and trust companies. These two areas are the key to breaking corporate power in Canada. Their public ownership will pave the way for nationalization of other sectors.
2. the NDP must commit itself to the public ownership of major corporations in the manufacturing, financial, transportation and commodity distribution sectors of the economy.
3. all publically-owned enterprises must be managed and controlled by those who work in them.

(Peter Horbatiuk to head up research committee on public ownership)

Resolution on Dare—The Left Caucus members through their riding associations support the Dare strikers by means of consumer boycotts and/or participation in the planned motorcade for Saturday Oct. 14

## RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION

### Resolution One:

Whereas the Ontario conservative Government's ceilings on educational spending are causing an increase in the pupil-teacher ratio in the schools which according to the Columbia report on education can lead to a deterioration in the quality of education

Whereas the Ontario Conservative Government's ceilings on educational spending are limiting the amount of educational material that can be obtained, especially in the Metro Toronto area

Whereas the priority of Government spending should be to invest in the educational needs of our society, specifically the educational system to insure that all qualified teachers are employed and that no teacher's jobs are declared redundant

Whereas the money for education exists in this society from the "Corporate Welfare Bums" who according to David Lewis, federal leader of our party says make millions of dollars profit (not taxed) while the working person's taxes (property or otherwise) continually rise

Whereas the educational system cannot be used as a scapegoat for inflation in this society

Be it resolved that:

1. We oppose the Ontario Conservative Government's ceilings on education as being harmful to the quality of education and that this be one of the priority areas of work for the ONDP and that the ONDP support actions organized by teachers and students against the ceilings on education.

2. We demand that the Government tax the profits of the corporations to be used for the welfare of our province and specifically for education.

3. We urge the NDP MPPs in the Legislature to speak out against the educational ceilings and support the struggles of teachers, students, and all those sectors directly affected by the ceilings and organizing against them.

Be it also resolved that on the issue of the rights of teachers that:

4. The ONDP support the right of teachers to bargain collectively on issues of salaries, working conditions and the quality of education.

5. The ONDP support the right of teachers to strike.

6. We the party reject any legislation forcing teachers to accept arbitrary settlements.

7. We support uniform salary levels for specific types of teachers across Ontario and that specific requirements concerning the hiring of teachers be publicized and carried on at the Board level to eliminate discrimination.

### Resolution Two:

Realizing that the present Ontario education system is based on the perpetuation of the class system

And noting that the structure of the present system perpetuates this situation by streaming students into educational areas according to their class origins, excluding students from higher education according to their class origins

And recognizing that corporate control of the education system and institutions of higher learning perpetuates this class bias of the education system

Be it resolved that:

1. We expose any sex stereo-typing and sex discrimination at all levels of the education system.

2. Education must be freely available to all, by means of free tuition and guaranteed living allowances for all students exclusive of any form of means test.

3. The ONDP support a mass secular public school system and that it oppose any form of support to parochial schools.

4. That we kick business of the governing bodies off the education system

5. The control of the institution of education must be in the hands of those involved in the education process, that is, students and faculty

## WOMEN

Whereas capitalist society systematically suppresses women as a sex and whereas the preconditions for our liberation can only be found under socialism

and whereas the struggle for women's liberation initially arose and continues to develop outside the NDP which has never been the focus for nor champion of women's campaigns despite the existence of a progressive women's program and whereas mass campaigns by women to combat their oppression are a most effective way to unite women of different political perspectives around common issues and demands

Be it therefore resolved: that the left caucus understand, prioritize and advance women's liberation struggles through activity in the Caucus, within and without the party, and Be it resolved that the Left Caucus demand of the NDP that it be prepared to act on its existing program and undertake or support mass campaigns demanding:

1. right and access to abortion and birth control
2. free 24-hour day care
3. equal pay for work of equal value
4. massive unionization of women

And be it resolved that the Left Caucus through riding associations, affiliated groups and if necessary independently, support campaigns around the above demands regardless of whether the NDP leadership is prepared to act

Be it resolved that we demand that the already existing Sub-Committee on Policy on Women be activated to call a conference for NDP women prior to the convention to discuss policy

Be it also resolved that at the Convention we demand an ongoing women's POLICY Committee an official standing body of the party, entitled to resources of the Party, and empowered to:

1. educate around the party programme
2. call conferences of NDP women to discuss and initiate actions around women's issues
3. support campaigns, e.g. day care and abortion
4. provide resources to riding associations, trade unions and other groups such as educational material, speakers, etc.
5. encourage women candidates to run socialist campaigns in ridings which have a perspective of victory

## QUEBEC

Whereas: Quebec is an oppressed nation within the English Canadian State

Whereas: the struggles of the Common Front of public service unions represents the most significant working class struggle in Canada in many years

Whereas: the development of the independentist movement and of working class militancy are clearly part of the same process of national and social liberation

Whereas: the recent struggle and movement towards political independence are proof that the working class is the only force capable of winning Quebec independence

Be it resolved that:

1. the NDP fully supports Quebec's right to self-determination
2. the NDP express its solidarity with the struggles of the Quebec working class
3. that we condemn the failure of the present leadership of the NDP to support the Quebec working class during the Common Front struggle in May
4. that the NDP actively undertake a program of education around Quebec's right of self-determination and solidarity with Quebec workers, through its riding associations, affiliated unions, and other organizations.
5. in the event of a new attack on the Quebec working class, the NDP will actively mobilize its membership to combat the attack

## Foreign Policy

Whereas: the US government, despite its claim to be winding down the war, is callously escalating its bombing attack on Indochina, killing thousands of Vietnamese people, creating millions of refugees, causing irreparable damage to the ecology, and threatening to bring about mass starvation and disease by destroying the North Vietnamese dikes,

And Whereas: the Canadian government of Pierre Trudeau supports the US war aim and has done nothing to cut off Canadian diplomatic and material aid to the US war effort

Be it resolved that:

This convention condemn the barbarous acts of aggression by the US, and demand the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all US troops and materials from S.E. Asia

That this convention condemn the Canadian government's continuing complicity in the Vietnam war and demands an end to all forms of support, including sales of strategic resources and arms, research and diplomatic aid to the US war machine and further that the NDP calls for class action to prevent the production and shipment of arms.

That the executive and council of the party be called upon to initiate and participate in mass protest demonstrations (including that of Nov. 18) against the war.

Further resolutions on foreign policy

That Canada withdraw from NATO, NORAD, ICC and end all defence production sharing agreements



## LABOR PERSPECTIVE FOR THE LEFT CAUCUS

The announcement by Trudeau that work permits are under consideration by the government, indicates just how far the crisis of unemployment has progressed. Trudeau, being his usual cynical, conscious, scheming self, now has parlayed the problems of unemployment into an issue which he hopes to pit "Canadian" workers against immigrants and prospective immigrants. The institution of a system of work permits will be a great step in the direction of total institutionalization of the labor movement, and a blow against working people in general through a forced removal of a section of the working class from the labor market. In this period of capitalist decline work permits are the bosses' answer to unemployment. Socialists cannot be silent on the struggle for jobs, against mass layoffs, and plant closings.

The issue of unemployment, particularly the question of mass layoffs and plant closings ~~is~~ are the questions on which we can most successfully approach working people, unite the class, and lead the way in drawing conclusions concerning the right wing role of the official trade unions and NDP leaderships.

The initiative of the Waffle in the Auto Pact campaign showed the way for the type of actions we, the Left Caucus, should seek to implement through our work in the NDP. Although there were a number of weaknesses in the original Auto Pact campaign, it did serve a vital purpose. The Auto Pact campaign sought to mobilize the working class on a question that was facing it, and relate this mobilization through its political conclusion to the NDP. At the present time, unfortunately, the low political level of the NDP reflects the relatively low level of political development of the Canadian working class as a whole. It is because the NDP is primarily a party which is controlled by the trade union bureaucracy, and thereby representing the interests of the working class in a most distorted way, through the bourgeois instrument of false consciousness, that socialists must view the NDP as both an instrument and an obstacle in the struggle for socialism.

The Left Caucus should not entertain illusions that the NDP in the long run can be reformed into a genuine working class socialist party. That should not stop us from placing demands on the party, holding the trade union and NDP leadership accountable for their actions, and thereby play a role in taking the working class through the political experience of a reformist party.

Working people are not going to opt for socialism because we quite methodically present a socialist program to the party. Rather working people come to socialist conclusions because, through the experience of their struggles, they see socialist measures as the only reasonable solution to their problems. It is because of this the Left Caucus must attempt to build a link between the work in the riding associations and the growing unrest in the trade unions.

The NDP and the trade unions leadership has acted in a most cowardly way to the problem of mass layoffs and plant closings. Trudeau has taken the ~~question~~ of unemployment as a key element in his reactionary offensive against the working class.

The Left Caucus should, through the riding associations (and wherever we have strength in the trade unions), take the initiative in calling a joint NDP, trade union conference on the question of mass layoffs and plant closings. Such a conference would permit us to intervene on a strong and far reaching political level, build a working unity between the riding associations and trade unionists, and most important- give working people an opportunity to draw socialist conclusions from their own experiences.

Bob Sherwood (St. David's)

21 September, 1972

Left Caucus Statement

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AN ARGUMENT FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

1972p

Who Runs the Economy?

Our world is dominated by an oppressive imperialist system. Economic power in Canada is wielded by a capitalist class which is "extremely restricted". (John Porter reports in the Vertical Mosaic, that 907 persons in 1964, together held 1304 of the 1613 major directorships in the 170 dominant enterprises.)

They decide; the conditions of work or whether we work at all; what goods will be available and at what prices.

All decisions are made to maximize their profits. If profits dry up, shutdowns are their solution. If profits decline, layoffs are the result. If sales lag and markets shrink wars are launched.

The capitalist system and its ruling executive is the root of Canada's major social and economic crisis

The Crisis

Working people are confronted with a spectre of growing insecurity and deprivation.

**UNEMPLOYMENT.** grows by leaps and bounds. Today, over 600,000 workers are unemployed with nearly 25% in the 16 to 24 age group who are school leavers.

**INFLATION,** a permanent feature of capitalism, wipes out any wage gains made by labour. Since 1949 the real wages of the average worker in manufacturing have increased less than half as much as his or her productivity. Wage rates in Canada are lagging behind advances in production and profits by about three years. (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's survey in 1971)

**HOUSING:** Families with a net income of less than \$12,000 have no hope of buying homes.

**POVERTY:** One third of the Canadian people live in perpetual poverty or near poverty (Croll Report)

**SEX DISCRIMINATION:** Women, 53% of the population, receive wages under half those of men...

**RACISM:** Quebecois workers ranked fifth in income in Quebec after immigrant ethnic groups.

**POLLUTION:** according to the Seadon report on Sewage Disposal and Treatment "the overall quality of the environment is deteriorating and regressing". For Toronto, industries produce 40 to 50% of the municipal sewage; which is more difficult to treat, but pay no extra charge or surcharge.

**TAX RIP OFFS:** By 1972 individuals would be paying 49.9% of all tax revenue while the "corporate bums" pay 12.2%. For 1951 the percents were almost equal

In short, these deplorable conditions exist in a period of virtually unlimited expansion of production and the growing inability of the working class to buy the products of their labour.

### Does the NDP Program Provide a Solution?

Our party's program argues against the introduction of Public Ownership in the decisive areas of the economy. This fits in very well with the leadership's concept of confronting capitalism with a "kind of pragmatic radicalism" approach. Through regulations such as: tax manipulation, interest rate control, redefining the criteria for grants and loans to corporations--corporate capitalism may be brought into line..

Look at our program for the resource industries. It's main thrust centres on a mixture of TWO options:  
 (1) Partnership arrangements with corporate enterprise even though few corporations are interested in these arrangements unless the company retains corporate majority control.  
 (2) Private corporate development under much more rigorous public supervision than at present, combined with greater public returns through royalties and taxes.

Why should we not demand the direct public expropriation of this vital sector of the economy when the advantages of this approach are obvious?

Regulations may lead to an improvement in economic performance but they will not transfer the economic power held by the privileged few to the working class. Regulations can be evaded, taxes can be passed on to the workers.

Interest rates on bank loans are linked to the international monetary supply whose control is in the hands of international imperialism.

Even if an Ontario NDP government passed anti-corporate legislation, short of public ownership, we would be hard pressed to enforce it. The hostility of the courts and high ranking civil servants would stand



p. 3  
in the way? Are they not the willing servants of the ruling class!

If ownership of the conglomerates remain with the capitalist entrepreneurs, they will always be in a position to sabotage government directed economic planning.

The real question we have to ask is whether we should be satisfied with a more efficient capitalist economy where some of the rough edges are shorn-- at best the implementation of our current program would only reduce corporate capitalist power. Tinkering with the economy will not pry it away from them.

### What is required?

As socialists, our objectives are to create a society where the individual may fulfill oneself by directing one's work and energy to the benefit of the entire community; where popular control and worker's self-management of industries is a fact.. The existing concentration of economic power in the hands of the capitalist class is inconsistent with these objectives.

The choice for socialists is clear. Ownership means power..As long as capitalist domination continues so will social inequality, economic deprivation, resource wastage and environmental destruction.

Public ownership of industry is essential if we are to break the monopolies and gain economic control for our own class interests..

It is with this perspective that we urge this convention to support the following principles.

1. In order to advance social justice the O.N.D.P. should commit itself to the immediate public ownership of the resource industries, major technological industries, financial institutions including banks, trust and insurance companies which are under provincial jurisdiction. These areas are the key to breaking corporate power in Canada. Their nationalization will pave the way for the extension of public ownership in other sectors of the economy.
2. The ONDP must commit itself to the public ownership of major corporations in the manufacturing, transportation, communication and commodity distribution sectors of the economy.
3. All publicly owned enterprises must be managed and controlled by those who work in them.

## WIN THE N.D.P. TO ACTIVE SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE TO TRANSFORM THE SCHOOLS INTO INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Questions related to youth and education have a manifold importance for socialists. In a socialist vision which sees beyond the problems of industrial workers in their most parochial or directly economic activity, and conditions, education can be seen as an explosive socio-political issue which can polarize Canadian society and politics and significantly promote the struggle for socialism.

Historically, particularly in the period before the 1837 rebellions, educational questions have been central in the definition of antagonistic class visions of society. A challenge to capitalist ideology in the educational system remains paramount today when education and the school system represent the only viable means of ideological and social control over the future.

On a more mundane level, education is receiving more and more attention from capitalist governments because of the enormous budgetary requirements of a mass educational system. Increasingly, they are proposing solutions which will reinforce the class bias of education by streaming out working class youth through direct economic coercion. The struggle against these policies promises to be among the sharpest confrontations against Canadian capitalism in the years ahead.

Not only is the educational system one of the arenas of sharp class contestation in the control of major social policy. Students are entering the struggle in a way which earmarks them for a special role in the struggle for socialism. Students represent the first wave of a deep radicalization which can shake this society to its roots. For these reasons then it is crucial for socialists to direct a priority and strategic attention to the student movement -- the youth wing of the class war against capitalist ideology and social policy.

The N.D.P. has a mixed offering in this respect. There is nothing on education in the resolutions or major pamphlet of the federal party. The N.D.P. Program For Ontario is six pages of political tossed salad which is generally pro-student but studiously avoids a precise definition of issues.

The Left Caucus can play three roles here. First we can promote the good points of the student program. This is most obvious in the N.D.P.'s support for a Student Bill of Rights and free tuition.

Secondly we should demand precision and reformulation in areas that warrant it. This is the case for a number of issues:

- A. There is no clear call for student-faculty-staff control of the schools. Instead the N.D.P. seems to be bending toward making schools responsible to "the community". This undemocratically takes responsibility away from students and staff and places it in the hands of

some "community" whose class basis is never stated.

B. There is no clear call to tax the corporations. The N.D.P. avoids the class issue here by calling for a shift of the tax burden from municipal property tax to provincial tax.

C. Universal accessibility is never clearly stated as a top priority.

D. The N.D.P. now calls for a "Canadian education" as an apparent alternative to attacking big business control of the university administratively (through the Boards of Governors or similar bodies) or ideologically.

There are also cases of outright violation of elementary socialist principles. This is particularly the case with the N.D.P.'s support for provincially supported private Catholic schools. Not only does this undermine the concept of public education open to people of all religions, it capitulates to one of the most reactionary, anti-socialist pillars of separate school education -- the Catholic Church.

The N.D.P. has the potential to become the meeting place for all the oppressed. It is only natural that youth and students should join together with the labor movement to attempt to formulate a common socialist strategy. For in real life, there is no difference in their struggles. Students are not a privileged and parasitic strata on the way to becoming part of a new middle class. On the contrary, they are on their way to the working class. Educational issues link the interests of students and workers. The struggle for universal accessibility and for a school system which serves the working people is a working class struggle.

It is incumbent on the Left Caucus to take up these matters with that perspective in mind and win the N.D.P. to actively participate in the struggle of students and youth to transform the schools from institutions for big business to institutions for social change.

Submitted by: Wayne Roberts -- St. Andrew-St. Patrick

(LSA-ed.)



LeftCaucus -- Ontario New Democratic Party  
Education Workshop

I

It is important that the Left Caucus formulate a full programme for the field of education, not simply because it is a provincial matter, or that it consumes close to half of provincial budget, but rather because of the nature and role of the institution in capitalist society, and the particular significance of the student base in relation to wider social instability. Left Caucus activists must both carry and socialist programme and analysis of education into the ONDP, and be prepared to participate in the unfolding struggles in the school sphere.

This paper is primarily addressed to the situation of post-secondary education, but much of it is applicable to the lower levels as well. It is not intended <sup>as</sup> a full programmatic alternative, merely as a contribution to the workshop debate.

1. The educational system is part of the state ideological apparatus. As an instrument of the non-neutral, class state, (i.e. a state that serves the interests of the owners of the means of production), it seeks to perpetuate the social stratification common to capitalist society and to legitimize the existing social relations throughout. It does this by means of ideological and structural indoctrination (i.e. through streaming; through employing bourgeois method and content in dealing with subject matter; through the denial of power to the natural participants in the educational process; and by instilling internal divisions among the powerless on the basis of age or 'professional' chauvanism, (e.g. teachers vs. students)).

2. Students neither constitute a new distinct social class nor are they uniformly members of one of the traditional classes. Their relationship to 'background' is heterogeneous (though white and blue collar working class backgrounds now comprise a majority of post-secondary education cases). Their present relationship to the means of production is transitional, (i.e. neither owning the means of production, nor working for those that do, as wage labour). Their futures are increasingly uncertain, as the economy is in a period of decline, and the jobs promised to 'intellectual labour' have failed to materialize. The student experience in the educational institutions is a collective one, molded by the crowded and alienating conditions and general powerlessness. Radicalization in this milieu has occurred as a result of rebellion against such oppressive conditions and exposure to the contradictions of capitalist/imperialist ideology (e.g. the Cuban struggle, the Vietnam war). This is largely because the milieu has access to the knowledge, resources, academic skills, and leisure time that allow it to be initially more critical and volatile than the working class as a whole, in periods of general social quiescence. However, only the most advanced student elements, the political vanguard, are capable of drawing socialist conclusions and offering revolutionary leadership, overcoming the not surprisingly predominant petit bourgeois ideology of this transitional, tension-ridden milieu. It is key to develop this leadership, which in the past decade has shown itself often capable of transmitting its ignominious socialist awareness

-als, (e.g. France and Mexico, '68; Italy, '69; Spain, '71; Quebec and South Africa, '72, etc.).

## II

1. In order to 'rationalize' an educational system that has produced a surplus of intellectual labour to the needs of big business, the capitalist state in Ontario has begun a programme of serious cutbacks in education spending. Its first appearance is in the form of tuition hikes this fall, (\$100 more for undergraduates and community college students, tremendously much more for graduates, teachers in training, and nursing students, escalating residence fees, and cutbacks in grants, high school bursaries, teachers' jobs, course offerings, resources, books, renovations, etc. This vicious assault, launched on the 'pro-taxpayer, anti-spoiled student' demagoguery of Bill Davis, intending, according to the Wright and Peitchinis Reports, to make students pay as much as half the costs of education in the near future, (300% tuition increases ahead), will only serve to heighten the class accessibility bias of higher education at the service of the corporations. The reports also advocate a greater centralization of power in the ministry, and a dispersal of students into smaller, more easily policed units for learning. This sudden direction clearly places most students on the defensive. It is necessary that socialists lead the fight-back against the state, expose its nature and that of the educational institutions themselves, and carry forward demands that can mobilize students to reject the increases, and create the climate for posing "free and universal access" as a real demand of the state and its ruling class, contrary to their 'cutbacks' direction.

Students must wage this campaign in alliance with teachers and staff, whose jobs are now jeopardized, and reach out to the organized working class, through the Ontario Federation of Labour that itself calls for a free tuition policy, for added support and to make the political links in developing the underlying class question.

At the same time, students must avoid any identification with local administrations in this struggle, for the latter oppose the cutbacks only in their own narrow economic/power interest, and will seek to keep the struggle of the powerless 'low level', parliamentary, and corporatist, (i.e., the corporate whole, all the 'people', oppressed students together with tyrannical administrators versus the Tory gov't.), thereby impairing its dynamic development.

The whole campaign, especially the critique of 'corporatist politics' (related to the fashionable populism of the NDP), must be raised in the ONDP. MPP's must be asked to debate the issues in the Legislature, and the Party must identify openly with the students and teachers demonstrating their anger.

2. Tactically, the thrust must be mass action oriented. University students would be wise to involve high schoolers hit by the cutbacks in the coming actions. Through their common struggles many will come to see where the power is that sets educational priorities and controls the larger society, and begin to realize the need to radically change the whole society through the practice of mass action.

Along the way, reformism and bureaucratism will prove to be stubborn obstacles, only to be displaced by the process of mass involvement itself. The Ontario Federation of

Students (OFS), representing officially over 100,000 post-secondary students across Ontario, a fresh creation of the latest student leader/careerists, with an undeveloped base, is imbued with such politics. Its approach to the tuition campaign is exclusively corporatist and economist; it seeks, in its own words, to defend "the integrity of the university". But it does embody the potential to create a real apparatus for effective communication and mobilization; and therefore political contestation by socialists should go on within it, while simultaneously, local independent action committees, capable of provincially linking up, must be initiated outside OFS, and if necessary, used to bypass it in organizing for mass actions, and eventual shut-downs. Throughout this upcoming period, Left Caucus activists must be involved in this area, injecting their revolutionary analysis, recruiting to the struggle in the NDP, proclaiming socialism as the only socialism to the irrational, arbitrary, wasteful and undemocratic character of education in our society.

3. It is the need for independent mass action on the part of the oppressed in our society that must be brought home to NDP'ers, and therefore, the need for the party to play a role in their struggles. It's only through intervention that one becomes politically effective. Persuing, or asking the Party to advocate, utopian 'alternative structures' (e.g. free schools or universities) avoids the arena of struggle, where people are, and weakens the chance of gains being made for the majority. Arguing for separate school funding, in the vague hope that it will act to break up the already biased educational monolith, allowing for liberatory options, is not only a naive misjudgement of capitalist intentions in the field, but also merely plays into the hands of parochial reaction, heightens the oppression for students and teachers in the most backward institutions, and again avoids the real struggle. The only real tool available to the majority excluded from power is mass action. The only demand that poses the question of power clearly is 'student-faculty-staff control' for 'critical education'. That's what the ONDP must be presented with in convention this winter. Whether or not the Party adopts such demands, or such an action orientation, remains to be seen, but even a negative result on that plane will not negate the educational value of our interventions.

Radical students, women's liberationists, and militant workers can unite to change education only through the struggle for socialism, to which they must recruit from the presently expanding NDP base. The Left Caucus can now best bring together the forces capable of doing so, enhancing the struggle within the Party and without.

Barry Weisleder  
Sept. 22, 1972.



## LEFT CAUCUS STATEMENT ON WOMEN

WOMEN in Canada are oppressed as a sex. They are second class citizens whose status is embedded in the very foundations of present day capitalist society. Even though the original division of labor took place long before capitalism it is now so rooted in capitalist society that only socialism can bring about its abolition. Productive and social relations and woman's relation to them have brought about her present role and position. It will require a fundamental change to overturn these relations. This is why the struggle for woman's liberation and the struggle for socialism are inextricably linked.

Women are socialized, educated and coerced into the narrow roles of domestic worker, wife, mother and super-exploited worker. They are denied control of their own bodies -- not only Trudeau but even David Lewis has sold women out on this question -- women must be allowed to decide if and when they will have children. The NDP must not equivocate on this. Women are penalized for having children -- the very role society has carved out for them. They lose jobs, seniority promotions and pay increases because of pregnancy. Child-bearing and rearing is an essential social function. The State must take responsibility for child care so that women (and their entire families) are not punished for performing this function. The labor that women perform in the home is critical to society. Imagine life with no meals, laundry, cleaning up, kids off to school! The many hard and repetitious hours women put into the very maintenance of this society goes completely unpaid. The wages earned by either husband or wife -- already only a fraction of the real value of their work -- must also sustain the many hours of household labor performed by women.

Women in Canada are super-exploited as workers. It is within the social institution of the family that women's role as domestic servant, mother and wife is primarily defined. Capitalism uses the deep-rooted view of woman to exploit her doubly. "Why unionize when you're only going to work until you're married? Till the kids are out of school? Till your husband finds a better job? You're just working for pin-money anyway, to earn a few extra dollars!" These are nothing but lies. Women work because they have to. They form a rock bottom 35% of the labor force (projected statistic -- 48% by the year 2000) and their participation is increasing. Their incomes are necessary -- whether for the individual support of themselves or their families. Women work in the most menial, boring and poorly paid jobs; and are constantly paid less for the same jobs that men perform. On the one hand women whose jobs are most poorly paid and insecure, stand to lose a great deal from strikebreaking. On the other hand, because most women are unorganized and their own consciousness of themselves as workers is suppressed, they are also used in strikebreaking. As long as women remain super-exploited, unorganized, encouraged to see their role in the work force as temporary or marginal, sold out by trade unions, they will be unable to see the need for working class unity.

All women are oppressed as a sex, but it's clear that working-class and poor women experience the consequences of that oppression most. It's deplorable that any woman can't decide if and when to have an abortion -- but money and contacts makes the procurement of one easier for women with these advantages. Women who don't need to work or who can hire housekeepers are not so devastated by lack of decent child-care facilities as those who must work and have no money. And the smaller salaries that women

bring home are often life and death matters to the working class and poor families whose women are working.

Like other workers, women must realize that they cannot count on their bosses for equality of treatment or the male politicians for decent legislation, nor on the male-dominated trade unions to fight for their interests. They too must mobilize, demonstrate, strike, fight! "Rights" have never been given away. They have only been won.

In this contest the consistent indifference and betrayal of women's rights by the NDP and trade union leadership, takes on its full meaning. Not only have they refused to champion the cause of the oppressed sex within society, but have been incapable of recognizing the significance of that struggle for the class whose interests they are supposed to represent.

The NDP can do much, much more to champion the cause of women's liberation and indeed it must:

- 1) The NDP must actively support all mass campaigns on women's issues. An abortion campaign has been underway for over a year, and David Lewis states - "Abortion is not an issue in this campaign." The Dare strike and the recent North York daycare struggles are only two more examples of many where the party has failed abysmally to support these struggles.
- 2) The party should co-sponsor with the trade unions a campaign around all the questions affecting working women. It would involve such questions as massive unionization of women, strict enforcement of "equal pay for equal work" legislation, the situation of women in the trade unions, etc.
- 3) The party must set up an ongoing POLICY COMMITTEE ON WOMEN, entitled to resources of the party and empowered to:
  - a) educate around the party programme;
  - b) call conferences of NDP women to discuss and initiate actions around women's issues;
  - c) support campaigns already underway, e.g. daycare, abortion, etc.;
  - d) provide resources to riding associations, trade unions and other groups such as educational materials, speakers, etc.;
  - e) encourage women candidates to run socialist campaigns in ridings which have a perspective of victory.
- 4) Incorporate into its programme unequivocal right and access to abortion and birth control.
- 5) Incorporate into its programme free twenty-four hour child care centres.

ORGANIZE AND FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

## WIN THE N.D.P. TO ACTIVELY FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

There are two facts facing us on which we can base our strategy in women's work in the N.D.P.

The first is that the current O.N.D.P. programme on women covers most of the major areas of women's liberation and is fairly adequate in its demands. It could use improvement in specific areas, for example -- defining more clearly provincial responsibilities in relation to birth control and abortion, incorporating the demand that the community controlled child care centres it speaks of provide 24 hour child care, etc.

Of course, if we concentrated on introducing new resolutions to the Convention they would likely suffer the same fate as the already existing programme.

The second fact that is before us then is that the Party leadership is making every attempt to bury the Women's Programme. Certainly this is evident in the recent statements of David Lewis regarding abortion. Lewis indicates that he is now neither in favour of legalizing abortion or keeping it illegal. Such a position is explained in his next statements when he dismisses abortion as "not an issue" and "certainly not at the top of any list I have in mind."

Women certainly are not at the top of the Party leadership list. A published article by Desmond Morton in the Toronto Star outlined how the research of the Party had indicated that "young parents" were the strongest source of potential support and "to make sure that young parents take a second look at the Party", conventions and Council were gearing the issues towards this group.

Clearly, this is explanation enough for the current non-existence of the Women's Programme in the public face of the Party. Would not the forceful articulation of a Women's Programme show that the N.D.P. thought women to be a valuable constituency in themselves apart from their role in the family and might it not even begin to expose the role of the family in present society?

As socialist women in the N.D.P. we have to see our task as demanding the implementation of the Party programme on women. We can do this by organizing N.D.P. women around this struggle. We can't do it ourselves!

Only through organizing broad layers of women in the N.D.P. around their own issues and interests do we have any hope of:

1. Forcing the leadership to bring the Women's Programme forward, thereby aiding the radicalization of large numbers of Canadian women and showing the N.D.P. as the Party which expresses their interests.



2. Bringing these layers of N.D.P. women to the nature of the women's liberation struggle and showing how it is part of the struggle for socialism.
3. To deepen N.D.P. women's experience as women in their own struggle, for implementation of the N.D.P.'s programme is to educate them to
  - (a) the nature of the leadership of the Party
  - (b) their own power as women organized in struggle
  - (c) the recognition of the link between their struggle and the struggle of the left in the Party as a whole

### Proposals For Action

#### Left Caucus must Demand:

1. Activate the already existing Sub-Committee on Policy on Women to call a conference for N.D.P. women prior to the Convention for discussion on policy and its purpose.
2. Coming out of Convention -- An on-going Women's Policy Committee, an official standing body of the Party entitled to resources of the Party empowered to
  - (a) educate around the Party programme
  - (b) call conferences of N.D.P. women to discuss women's issues
  - (c) support campaigns, e.g. day care and abortion
  - (d) initiate actions of N.D.P. women
  - (e) provide resources to riding associations, trade unions -- such as educational material, speakers, etc.
  - (f) encouraging women candidates to run meaningful campaigns
3. Building a caucus around these demands open to all N.D.P. women who wish to see the programme actively carried.

### Immediate Tasks Related to Building of the Caucus and the Federal Elections

1. Intervening in the election campaign and attempting to bring women's issues forward specifically by confronting David Lewis on his recent remarks on abortion which were not only contrary to Party policy, but an insult to the women of Canada in general and especially insulting to women in the N.D.P.
2. Federal Candidates -- Call a public meeting and press conferences featuring women N.D.P. federal candidates to discuss the Party policy on women.

We cannot allow women's issues to be pushed aside any longer and only by organizing women in the N.D.P. around women's issues will we be able to realize our demands.

Submitted by:

Julie Tolentino -- St. David's  
Margaret McIntosh -- Beaches Woodbine  
Carol Berry -- Parkdale

## A PROPOSAL FOR A WOMEN'S CAUCUS IN THE NDP LEFT CAUCUS

Women are oppressed as a sex in this society. Economically super-exploited, sexually objectified, saddled with care of husband and children, unrepresented in political formations, they are struggling for their liberation. As socialists we understand that the full liberation of humanity- which of necessity includes the liberation of women-can only come about when the working class own and controls the means of production and the state is an instrument of working class power rather than bourgeois power, i.e. when capitalism is destroyed. But we also know that while socialism will provide the material pre-conditions for the liberation of women, it will not by any means guarantee it. Women's oppression, while fundamentally rooted in class society, will not automatically crumble with the coming of socialism. The structures that oppress women are not only economic. Whole institutions and ideologies must fall before women and men are truly equal. We, as socialist women, must take on the fight, within our own organizations as well as within the social order as a whole.

### Women in the NDP

As socialists we are working within the NDP because we understand its importance at this time to working class politics in Canada. Most class conscious workers and trade union militants see the NDP as a relevant political formation. The NDP has very strong links with the trade union movement. These factors mean that a working class upsurge will have significant effects on the party when it occurs. (Exactly what the nature of these effects will be we can't as yet say with any real certainty.) While it is true that such an upsurge would also mean rising consciousness among working class women which might express itself somewhat through the party, the women's movement itself has developed completely outside the party. Indeed many party women who felt the need to become involved in women's politics turned and continue to turn to other groups and organizations for their reference for women's politics. Further, because both the political and trade union leadership is so male dominated and chauvinist, there are few women militants who are active in the NDP and, it is unlikely that this leadership will undertake the kind of mass action campaigns (for example one on equal pay for work of equal value) that are so crucial to women. A more realistic projection is that these campaign and movements will develop somewhat, if not completely, autonomously from the NDP. As left women our task will be to anticipate where this movement will occur, to seek the leadership of it, and intervene appropriately.

The NDP has not been and is not now a champion of women's liberation. (viz. David Lewis in Saskatchewan- "Abortion is not an issue in this campaign") Nor is there any motion in the party to indicate that this will change in the future. Although the radicalization of the 60's had its effects on women (and men) in the NDP women have not joined the NDP because of any common orientation to women's liberation, but because of orientation to other political issues. What this means is that women's liberation does not cut across other political lines in the NDP.

Two years ago a group of Waffle women decided to organize an Ontario NDP Women's Liberation Group. Within that Group was represented the whole gamut of political perspectives within the party - reformism to revolution. What became clear was that the expressions of women's politics were very much affected by the different political perspectives of the various women involved. Waffle women carried radical women's politics, others liberal feminist ones. The group, after a difficult year, fell apart. The political problems were the crux of this failure.

What can we learn from this experience? Women are concerned about women's issues, they do want to act together to advance women's issues, otherwise they would never have joined or supported the ONDP Women's Liberation Group. However they were unable to cohere together in an ongoing organization because of their political differences. We cannot, nor should not, fly in the face of this political reality. We must seek another way to advance women's liberation that is appropriate to the situation in the NDP. Because of their common concern as women, women will unite around mass action campaign on certain specific issues. We must push for these campaigns, not substitute ourselves for them.

We should certainly not oppose the formation of such a caucus if other women in the party initiate the process. We would then be able to operate within it as women with the politics of socialist women's liberation. But because the party is not the primary focus for work with women and because of the historical experience in the NDP we should have no illusions about the potential for work with women in the NDP and not expend vast amounts of energy doing work for which there is little base. Let us use our small numbers and limited energies where they will be most effective.

Heather Jon Karney

### A Women's Caucus of the NDP Left Caucus

The first and most important task of a women's caucus in a socialist organization is to ensure that the question of women's liberation be fully integrated into the political programme and practice of the organization and prioritized by it. We are women working in the Left Caucus of the NDP. We must ensure that all people in the Left Caucus understand, prioritize and advance women's liberation within the NDP. This means Left Caucus activists pushing the party - its members, its candidates, its bodies - to adopt sound policy on women and to undertake mass action campaigns on the basis of this policy and the conjunctural issues. Concretely this entails writing resolutions and organizing around them for conventions; confronting candidates and leadership on their anti-woman attitudes; and most importantly, raising over and over again the need for campaigns around issues affecting women.

Campaigns around daycare (which may well be initiated by women outside the party and which we should support) and abortion ("Free Abortion on Demand" should be the slogan carried by left caucus women) are very important and work should be done towards them. But we must also inject women's issues into all the campaigns around which the Left Caucus and the party rally. For example, if an anti-strikebreaking campaign is begun, we must show how an attack on labour is devastating to women because they are so poorly organized, and that a wage-freeze will affect women in the worst way their wages are the lowest. Women can and should be organized as women around the issues facing the entire working class.



The Women's Caucus, like the Left Caucus, should have loose structures, designed to facilitate the kind of activities it wants to undertake. Rather than a formal steering committee with representatives from every local group, then, structures should arise organically from whatever activities are underway. If a daycare campaign begins, for example, we might want to organize a "Daycare Campaign Working Committee". If we decide to hold a conference, we should strike off a "Conference Organizing Committee". If a group of women undertake some theoretical work they can organize themselves into a working unit. This will avoid sterile structures and make work projects, and give us the flexibility to respond to issues as they arise.

We should demand parity on all bodies of the Left Caucus, making all the usual arguments.

Dierdre Gallagher  
Susan Kent  
Varda Kidd  
Jackie Larkin  
Donna McCombs  
Heather Jon Maroney

## BUILD THE LEFT CAUCUS

If the party leaders and C.L.C. brass thought **they** could expel the left by expelling the Waffle at Orillia they had better think twice.

This afternoons close vote on public ownership of resources was an embarrassment to the party leadership. The following vote challenging the chair to hold a standing vote, was clearly won by the challengers but the chair refused to recognize it.

Such manipulation, by the chair, in the interests of the party leaders is a clear denial of the delegates' rights to determine the party's political direction. That is the purpose of the Convention. It's not a rubber stamp for the Lewises.

There is obviously a rank and file groundswell in this party of people who like their socialism straight and resent having it forever watered down by the party leadership.

Today's debate on all manner of resolutions from Vietnam to land policy and public ownership, showed clearly that the left within the party is alive and well, and offering a clear alternative to the party's present leadership and program.

Regardless of expulsion attempts, a committed left will continue to reemerge within the NDP. After all, it's a party whose rank and file are working people, and socialism is a political philosophy of the working class.

The Lewises and the labour brass want to water down socialism so that it mediates the class struggle, but any trade unionist knows - labour's only victories come from militance not mediation.

The Left Caucus is wide open to all party members who want to work for a clear and comprehensive socialist alternative to the party's present direction. Join us tonight.

**FRIDAY**

~~Friday~~, Dec. 8/72

- 5:30 -- Convention floor, a brief meeting to nominate candidates for party positions.
- 6:00 -- Left Caucus Womens Caucus on Convention Floor
- 10:30-- Left Caucus Meeting to discuss today's events and to plan strategy for tomorrow - place to be announced at the end of tonight's session.

NDP  
6th Provincial Convention Dec. 8, 9, 10, 1972 Four Seasons Sheraton Hotel TORONTO.

LEFT CAUCUS SLATE FOR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

STEVE PENNER

Provincial Council, Dovercourt

HEATHER LION MARONEY

Peterborough

VARDA KIDD

Provincial Executive

CHRIS STARR

Ottawa South

PETER HORVATHIUK

Provincial Council

Vice President, Beaches Woodbine

MARG MACINTOSH

Vice President, Beaches Woodbine

LYNN BROWN

Dovercourt

MIKE ORENSTEIN

Secretary, Dovercourt



(Found in Feb. 1973)

1973

# NO CANADIAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM

Canada is not neutral in the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom. An imperialist power in its own right, with its own foreign economic holdings, an internal colony (Quebec), and troops stationed in 29 countries, it is in military partnership with the U.S. through NATO, NORAD, and the Defense Production Sharing Agreements. Throughout the war, Canada has supplied the aggressors with millions of dollars' worth of essential resource materials and military goods, and large grants to American corporations here which produce more of the same. Our universities are also complicit with imperialism as centres for war research. In 1971-72, at York University alone, the Canadian Defense Research Board spent \$96,350, and the U.S. military added \$64,686 directly for such studies.

Since the onset of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Canada has been a supporter of the aims of the American rulers. The Pentagon Papers reveal among other things, that Blair Seaborn, a Canadian member of the old International Control and Supervision Commission (ICC), delivered U.S. State Department threats and ultimatums to Hanoi; Canadian ICC members consistently covered up the facts and underwrote the U.S. violations of the Geneva Accords, and spied for the CIA. This will be Canada's role again.

Canadian forces now in Vietnam are not observers. They are there with a destroyer back-up, to try to impose a peace that has not and cannot last because it violates everything the Vietnamese have fought so long to obtain: re-unification, land to the peasants, complete independence and economic progress without exploitation through socialism.

The existence of any so-called 'peacekeeping' interventionist force constitutes a violation of the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese. Even if the heroic Vietnamese have been bombed and exhausted into temporarily accepting such conditions, as NDP'ers and socialists, we have no business supporting such a force that may indeed lead to long-term Canadian military involvement. We know that such 'peace forces' have historically played a role in maintaining the reactionary status quo in every conflict in which they've intervened, (e.g. Korea, Cyprus, the Middle East and the Congo). To mention but one example, in 1960 Canadians as part of the U.N. force went into the Congo on the request of Patrice Lumumba, supposedly to put down a succession of Katanga province under Belgian puppet Moïse Tshombe. The activity of the U.N. force was mainly aimed, however, at Lumumba's government. Canadian forces, who were in charge of transport and communications, cut Lumumba off from his supporters, facilitating his eventual murder by his opponents and, thereby allowing Tshombe to take power.

Just as trade union militants are aware that labor arbitration is not a neutral ruling by a neutral court, so NDP'ers must see that there is no neutrality between American imperialism and the desires of the colonial peoples for liberation. The U.N. or any other peace keeping system may appear to play a neutral role but can only act in the interest of the big powers.

What has the NDP Federal Caucus done about this serious situation? Despite the fact that the British Columbia, Alberta and recent Ontario ONDP conventions went on record as opposed to any Canadian intervention in Vietnam, the federal caucus and leader have explicitly supported the sending of troops. All they have asked for was a debate in the House of Commons to sanction this betrayal of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. They also earlier voted support to a government resolution that timidly opposed the U.S. terror bombing of Hanoi, and blamed both sides in the conflict for it. This kind of behavior is inexcusable for a democratic socialist party, and we must strongly protest it.

As Socialists in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation and socialism, we must seek to unite with all the working people of the world in their battles against their oppressors. Nothing short of a revolutionary victory can bring peace in Indochina.

In basic accord with the ONDP convention of December 1972 and in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle we must demand:

1. No Canadian Troops to Vietnam - Withdraw from the False Peace Force Now!
2. U.S. Men and Material Out of South East Asia Now!  
Stop the Bombing of Cambodia and Laos!
3. Solidarity With the Vietnamese Revolution!  
Self-determination for Vietnam!

What NDP ridings can do now is:

1. Send telegrams of protest to the federal caucus embodying the above ideas.
2. Call an all-riding general meeting in Metro, soliciting the participation of prominent NDP'ers (e.g. Andrew Brewin, David and Stephen Lewis,) to discuss the present situation in Indochina and the question of Canadian intervention.
3. Call extra-parliamentary actions to protest the sending of troops by Canada, and the continued American presence in South East Asia.

Submitted by the  
NDP Left Caucus

## IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CANADIAN PERSONNEL FROM VIETNAM

(Found in Feb. 1973)

No real peace has been achieved in Vietnam. In the face of this fact, the NDP leadership has now retreated from its enthusiastic support of Canadian participation of so-called "neutral peace-keeping" troops. Under the enormous weight of the events surrounding Canada's role on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS), the federal caucus has shifted its position. They are now calling for Canada to give 90 days notice and withdraw its observer contingent from Vietnam.

Doug Rowland, NDP defence critic who went on a fact-finding mission to Indochina, stated: "Information I was able to gather during my visit to Vietnam last week has convinced me that the prospects for peace are minimal and that the prospects for the ICCS in Vietnam carrying out its duties under the Paris agreement are virtually non-existent." This begs the question why then did the NDP leadership support sending Canadian troops in the first place?

For a long time the leadership of the party has obscured both the nature of the war in Indochina and Canada's role as official apologist and diplomatic cover for the U.S. This has led to its emphasis on a "neutral peace-keeping" role for Canada. In fact, Canada's "peace-keepers" have never been neutral.

Older party members may be forgiven if they shrug cynically, saying they have seen it all before. The party leadership, then the CCF, once before hastily lent its seal of approval to Canada's participation on the International Control Commission (ICC) which was set up in 1956 to administer the Geneva accords ending the first round of fighting between the Vietnamese and Western Imperialism. But it had to withdraw its support in equal haste when the role of Canadian observers became too blatant. While uncritically accepting the U.S. view of the war, they act to conceal flagrant American violations of the accords and as informants for U.S. intelligence agencies.

However, by 1967 when the character of the war had become clear to all but the most ardent American apologists, then party leader Tommy Douglas reversed the party's traditional view by describing it accurately as a civil war in South Vietnam from which the U.S. should withdraw unconditionally.

Now history has repeated itself, this time as a farce. Once more, Canada has been conscripted by the U.S. to act as its watchdog on the ICCS. The party leadership, led by foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin, has again uncritically hailed Canadian involvement in a peace-keeping role. Brewin's boisterous concern for the "good name" of the U.S. (especially in its imperialist war in Vietnam) is not a concern shared by many NDPers.

Clearly, the more the party leaders learn, the more they seem to forget. But not the rank and file members of this party. At the B.C. convention last fall and at the Ontario convention in December, the delegates voted overwhelmingly against Canada's participation on the ICCS. More facts the majority of the federal caucus have conveniently forgotten.

Why this opposition from the rank and file? Because as socialists many party members have a different view of what's going on. We realize that the intent of the U.S. is to stifle a popular socialist revolution in South Vietnam and prop up the corrupt and reactionary Thieu military regime.

What is at stake in Vietnam is the right of the Vietnamese not only for national independence, but also for the right of the workers and peasants to finally settle accounts with their direct oppressors-- and to advance towards the establishment of a socialist republic.

The Canadian government's current participation on the ICCS must be seen in this overall context. Not only is Canada serving as a chief diplomatic cover and military supplier for the American effort to defeat the Vietnamese. But, together with representatives of the Indonesian military government on the ICCS, Canada's role is to ensure that American and Saigon interests are protected and



where possible extended against those of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

One of the ways it is already doing this is by opposing the ICCS delegates from Poland and Hungary and blaming them for the ICCS's problems. Canadian personnel are well trained for these tasks. The head of the contingent, Michel Gauvin, comes well equipped to serve the counter-revolution in Vietnam. In 1965, as a Canadian diplomat aiding the U.S. intervention against the uprising of workers and students in the Dominican Republic, he met Ellsworth Bunker who is now the American Ambassador to Saigon.

Thus Canada has conveniently neglected to investigate the conditions and demand the release of some 200,000 political prisoners in Thieu's prisons; one of the outstanding issues in Vietnam today. Nor did the Canadian delegation challenge the Saigon government's refusal to allow the Red Cross to investigate the jails. In addition, the Canadian contingent has failed to report that the U.S. is already evading its commitment to dismantle all military bases within 60 days of signing the peace agreement. This is not being done under the pretense that the bases were handed over to the Saigon regime before the agreements were signed.

Of course, Mitchell Sharpe was quick to point out that the North Vietnamese were violating the accords when they continued to move supplies down the Ho Chi Minh trail. But it should be pointed out also that the North Vietnamese displayed a casual indifference to Canada remaining on the ICCS-- a reversal of their previous position when they responded to Sharpe's probings in Hanoi. However, North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong also stated that there can be no peace in Vietnam until Vietnam is re-united.

If the party leadership had the perspective of supporting the socialist aspirations of the Vietnamese people, instead of mediating irreconcilable class and social tensions-- they would have never supported a peace-keeping role for Canada in the first place.

As socialists we must oppose the current Canadian role in Vietnam. We can express our solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people by demanding:

1. THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CANADIAN PERSONNEL FROM VIETNAM AND THE ICCS, and call for
2. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS HELD BY THE THIEU REGIME.

Feb. 3/73

## OUR NDP INTERVENTION ON PEACEKEEPING

This contribution tries to clarify the situation in the NDP as regards peace-keeping and also tries to deal with the how's of exposing before the NDP ranks the Federal Caucus' shameful stand enabling the sending of Canadian troops.

Since the question of how to intervene is subject to controversy inside our movement and given that some forces in the Left Caucus are actively pushing what appears to be for a public demonstration against the Federal Caucus nominally under the sponsorship of some riding associations, such an assessment is in my opinion urgently needed.

What is the situation inside the party on Viet Nam, on the subject of "peace-keeping"? What are the avenues open to us?

There is no debate on the need to first and foremost educate party ranks as to the real nature of the peace keeping effort and the facts that Canadians doing this at the request and in complete complicity with Washington. To this effect the Left Caucus has decided to issue a leaflet to riding associations and concerned NDPers. The leaflet will presumably expose the phony role of international observers, which is to give renewed credence and legitimacy to continued foreign interference to thwart the right of the whole of the Vietnamese people to determine their own future to shake off imperialist domination, and to settle accounts with the Quisling puppet regime in Saigon, which is so entirely the creation of the U.S.

The leaflet will expose the Federal Caucus' disregard of three provincial convention decisions opposing Canadian involvement, as they went along with the Liberals in sending Canadian "observers". More crucial, it was precisely the support of the NDP which provided the figleaf -- the false semblance of a genuine Canadian contribution to peace -- which made it possible for the government to assuage an aroused and sceptical public opinion. In my opinion, without the NDP's collaboration with the Liberals there would be no Canadian troops in Viet Nam now.

Instead of a clear condemnation in the House of Canada's sordid role -- especially in the light of renewed first-hand reports of Canadians spying for the CIA, and the delivery of ultimatums to Hanoi by Blair Seaborne, then Canadian rep on the ICC -- the parliamentary caucus have taken on the role of loyal opposition on the whole subject of Viet Nam. Brewin for instance during the debate on the rather belated resolution condemning the bombings made the following astounding remarks while urging Parliament to speak out on Jan 5th:--

"It is not the enemies of the United States who feel most strongly on this subject. The good name of the United States of America is involved, and it is the friends of the United States who have believed that the United States is a great and generous nation who most deeply regret seeing the good name of that country besmirched by the action we are discussing."

Brave concerns indeed from a supposedly socialist deputy in response to the most cynical and genocidal assault yet seen in the war. . .

Clearly such a leaflet will play an invaluable role in beginning to mobilize opposition inside the party. It will be coupled with a call on riding associations and individuals to demand that the Federal Caucus will speak out and vote to bring back the phony "peace-keepers" when the question comes to a head after the sixty day trial period. In addition ridings will be encouraged to participate in an emergency meeting to discuss the pro's and con's, to hear Brewin and the opponents of Canadian involvement. If such a meeting can be launched it will of course be an effective gauge of the mood of party ranks, and their degree of rebelliousness on this issue.

I believe that NDPers on the whole have almost as many illusions about Canada's alleged peace keeping as has the public at large, and these still linger despite the anti-war movements efforts to expose Canadian complicity. Only a minority of NDPers vaguely appreciate that what's going on in Viet Nam is a revolution -- and even of those a great many still have illusions about peace-keeping, especially since it is endorsed by Hanoi. The uneven consciousness in the party on Viet Nam is further confirmed by the fact that while we were able to win provincially in the B.C., Ontario and Alta. conventions, it was still possible for instance for Brewin to carry the day in his own riding and of course for the brass to ram through a resolution favouring UN peacekeeping in the '71 federal convention. Last Thursday night's experience in St. David's confirms the difficulties in getting even left-of-centre ridings to move out.

A great deal of exposure is needed before we can begin even to talk publicly about an open demonstration of party militants against the leadership. Rapidly moving events in Viet Nam -- the first casualties -- can of course accelerate this development, but for now this is premature. In the meantime we must seize on all avenues open inside the party, such as the New Democrat, the provincial and area councils, as well as of course the ridings to begin to launch a groundswell of opposition.

Given the disposition of the Red Circlers and Old Molers to get enraptured with projects such as demonstrations, press releases and leaks, we must be on guard that the Left Caucus does not fall prey to rash actions which stand the danger of isolating us from -- not bringing us closer to rank and file militants.

The question of a demonstration reflects a deeper difference in approach to the NDP between us and the Red Circle, ie. the question of a more strategic approach to a labour party or of a more short term tactical approach to what the Red Circle characterizes primarily as a typical hardened social democratic party. More discussion of this belongs into our convention bulletin, in the mean time the issue is clearly not the question of who is braver in tackling the rotten reformists -- as indeed some Red Circlers are making out -- but whose intervention and strategy is more effective.

Harry Knight, East Branch

(LSA red.)  
(Internal document  
found in archive)



8 April 1973  
Left Caucus NDP  
Box 351 Downsview Ont.

To Left Caucus Supporters,

Enclosed you will find copies of the first(at last) issue of the newsletter. The Provincial Convention, some subsequent disorganization on our part, and our decision to use an offset format have resulted in the long delay in producing this edition. Now that we've learned what is involved we will be better equipped for the next one.

Due to the rapidly rightward-moving direction of the NDP leadership provincially and federally, we thought the newsletter would be most effective if it strongly projected the politics of the Left Caucus, rather than be just a fact sheet. As such we intended that it could be used to build for both the upcoming Left Caucus convention, to be held at Glendon Campus in Toronto on May 5 and 6, and for the July Federal convention in Vancouver.

In preparing for the Federal Convention we have sent copies of this newsletter to activists in Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg as well as to the centres of strong Left Caucus support in Ontario.

We hope that you will ensure the widest possible circulation of this newsletter among interested people. There is no set price for it, but we suggest that you ask for a donation to support Left Caucus work. In Toronto we are having a fund-raising party to recoup some of the costs. (about \$160. for 1000 copies) We hope that activists outside of Toronto will send funds to help meet the expenses.

If you need more copies and/or have any comments, suggestions, or articles for the next issue, we can be contacted through the above address.

Hoping to see you at the May convention,

With socialist greetings,  
the Editorial Board

13 April 1973  
Box 951n Downsview Ont

To Left Caucus Supporters

At a meeting on April 12, a decision was made by the steering committee to post pone the Left Caucus conference which was originally planned for Glendon Campus as advertised in the newsletter.

After some debate, the committee decided that there was not enough time to travel to other centres of Left Caucus support, discuss with people there the various proposals for discussion drawn up by Toronto caucus members and still have time for activists outside of Toronto to prepare their positions and organize delegates. Added to this is the unexpected fact that after we had confirmed the Glendon Campus as announced, the university decided to add a charge of several hundred dollars for the use of few rooms.

With these factors in mind, a new date and place was worked out that hopefully will facilitate a much fuller political discussion at the conference. Please inform Left Caucus supporters in your area and/or change the notice on the last page of the newsletter.

The Left Caucus conference will be on:

May 25, 26, 27  
Don Vale Community Centre  
80 Winchester St. Toronto

Toronto members note:

A general meeting of the Toronto Left Caucus to build for the Ontario Left Caucus Conference will be held on:

Thursday May 3 8 pm  
at St. Francis of Assissi Separate School  
250 Manning Ave.  
(north of Dundas, just west of Bathurst)

This is an important meeting which we hope all those interested in the Left Caucus will attend. A discussion of several proposals for a manifesto will be one of the main items on the agenda.

With socialist greetings,  
the steering committee

9 May 1973  
Box 351 Downsview

To Left Caucus Supporters,

With the right turn in the NDP leadership continuing as the July federal convention approaches, it is time to consolidate oppositional support. An important part of that process is the Left Caucus Conference to be held on May 26 and 27 in Toronto. Since this is also the weekend of the Dare Demonstration in Kitchener, special arrangements have been made so that caucus supporters can be active in both.

The proposed agenda is as follows:

- Sat. 26--10:30 a.m. Left caucus supporters are encouraged to give their support to the Dare strikers. Buses organized by the Dare Strike Committee leave York Mills, Victoria Park and Islington subway stations at 10:30 to go to Kitchener. Bus tickets are \$1.00 and the demonstration begins in Victoria Park in Kitchener at 1p.m. Buses will return by supper time.
- 7:30 p.m.-- Organizational Reports in Room 2135, Syney Smith building at University of Toronto. We encourage people from areas where the Left Caucus is active to share their experiences.
- 8:30 p.m.-- Panel Discussion following org. reports. Topic is "The NDP and the Left Caucus--Evaluations and Perspectives". The panel is to consist of people presenting positions that have emerged in pre-conference discussion. The exact composition and length of presentations is to be decided by the arrangements committee after discussion with the spokespeople. All left caucus activists are encouraged to draft presentations.
- Sun. 27--10:00 a.m. Manifestoes Discussion. Presentation and debate of prepared proposals for a Left Caucus Manifesto. Enclosed are the draft proposals representing three points of view expressed so far. Anyone wishing to prepare a draft is encouraged to do so; all comments on any of these drafts are welcomed.
- 12:00 noon-- Lunch (not provided)
- 1:30 p.m.-- "The Nature of the Left Caucus Intervention in the Federal Convention". Presentation and debate of prepared proposals. All are encouraged to prepare documents for the debate.
- 4:00 p.m.-- Election of Ontario Steering Committee and others if needed.

Admission to the conference, which is open to all NDP members, is \$2.00 for employed and \$1.00 for students and unemployed. We encourage individuals and groups to prepare documents on any question. However, due to the tight budget of the caucus, both the financing and production of the documents is the responsibility of the author. Depending on the financial situation, some limited funds may be available to those individuals who need it.

Billeting for out of town delegates will be provided and child-care will be available on Sunday. ~~At the moment, we have no central items on the agenda, they are major ones for developing strong Left Caucus policies for the coming months. We urge all interested socialists to actively take part in this conference and other caucus activities. If there are any problems, contacts, comments or suggestions contact~~  
Varda Kidd at 402 Sackville St Toronto or Steve Penner at 19 Cowan Ave.

Looking forward to seeing you at the  
Dare Demo and conference,  
With socialist greetings,

the Steering Committee



# FILE

## PROPOSED LEFT CAUCUS MANIFESTO

Revised Draft For  
NDP Left Caucus Conference  
Toronto  
May 26-May 27, 1973

### For a Socialist and Class Struggle Perspective in the NDP

We live in a period when social struggles have increased in intensity and have encompassed broader layers of the population. The NDP is today faced with unprecedented opportunities for mobilizing support from workers, women, students, and native people, all of whom are beginning to set themselves in motion against a decaying capitalist order. This discontent, at all levels of Canadian society, represents the most significant sign of combativity in Canada since the 1930s. Today, the conditions for radical change are immeasurably better than in almost any earlier period. At home we see a working class that is better organized and more self-confident than ever before. Struggles have developed in new strata of society, making broader alliances of the oppressed real possibility. Abroad the tempo of social and class struggles remain at a high pitch. We live in an era when socialist militants must begin to seize the initiative.

Countless numbers of angry people in this society, particularly young people, have become fed up with the capitalist parties and have been inclined to vote NDP but, after having watched its performance in Parliament and in government, have dismissed it with a cynical shrug and a comment: "What's the use... they're all the same. Their unease is not relieved by the cheerful remarks of the Liberal Cabinet Minister who joked recently: "I've always had good friends among the NDP members but now there are times when I almost have to remind myself that we don't belong to the same Party." (Toronto Star, 2/24/73)

### The Record of the Leadership

There is real unease in the Party today. There is growing opposition among Party activists over the Party's direction at both federal and provincial levels. In Ottawa we are faced with a leadership that has no intention of posing a socialist and class struggle programme. [Instead we see a leadership which continues to openly collude with the Liberal Party, the party of the "corporate welfare bums."]

We see a leadership which voted in favour of an anti-working class budget that didn't contain a single significant measure to combat unemployment and inflation. [We see a leadership which voted for the denationalization of Polymer, so that profits can revert back to private hands.] We see a leadership which voted for the dispatching of Canadian "peacekeeping" troops to Vietnam. We see a leadership which denounced the Quebec general strike of public workers in May '72 and proposed "milder" jail sentences for its leaders than those handed down by the bourgeois courts.

could have  
abstained

This dismal record is hardly improved upon when we look to those provinces where the NDP forms the government: In BC an NDP government seems to want to keep repressive labour laws on the books. Nothing has been done about Bills 42 and 123, which prohibit mass picketing, and Bill 33, which provides for compulsory arbitration and empowers the state to break strikes and fire militant trade union activists.

In Saskatchewan, an NDP government raises tuition fees making it even more difficult for students from wage-earning families to continue into higher education. And in Manitoba, an NDP government continues to deny teachers, public workers and firemen the right to strike and reneges on election promises not to flood native reserves in the interests of large corporations.

### The Politics of the Right Wing

There are important lessons to be drawn from these experiences. The problem is not unique to the Canadian context. Abroad we notice that the experience with so-called labour governments dominated by right-wing leaderships of the sort that controls the NDP has been much the same.

Wherever such governments have governed they have left unequal societies pretty much as they found them--including in Sweden, the spiritual homeland of the NDP leadership, where working class strikes, unrest and discontent are today at an all-time high. When these leaderships have been faced with the choice of either moving decisively against real, not superficial, power in the economic and political spheres, or giving in to that power, they have invariably succumbed. In the process, they disappointed and demoralized their most active supporters--through compromise, timidity, and anti-working class legislation.

The present leadership of the NDP is concerned, above all, with the regulation and control of conflict at home and abroad, regardless of whether or not this interferes with social justice. At home, it is no secret that they abhor strikes and would prefer that disputes be settled "amicably" through management-labour cooperation. Abroad, they have been most ardent supporters of the United Nations and Canadian interference in the affairs of other nations. Compromise is their watchword. If justice for those fighting to change their conditions--whether in Vietnam or Canada--has to be sacrificed on the altar of compromise and class peace, the NDP leadership is more than willing to make that sacrifice.

The leadership has a totally naive approach. Conflict in society, however much it may be wished, cannot be regulated so that both sides receive their "fair share". The differences between the two main classes in capitalist society are too fundamental for that to occur. What usually happens is that, under the guise of compromise and regulation, the status quo is frozen in favour of the dominant party. It is only a short time before "orderly" arrangements break down, and strikes and demonstrations break out again.

Socialists recognize that conflict is inherent in capitalist society, that where it occurs among the oppressed it represents a continuous striving to better their own conditions. The task of

socialists is to organize that discontent and direct it towards political power and the establishment of a less violent, less competitive, less anarchic, conflict ridden society.

But the right-wing leaders of this Party blithely continue to pretend that the struggle for socialism ends with the "regulation" of an economy which remains in capitalist hands.

By these superficial criteria, all Western governments today-- Liberal, Conservative, Republican or Democratic--which "regulate" the system to try and soften its harsher edges and control its uncontrollable tendencies--are "socialist" governments. Some are more candid, like NDP Premier David Barrett of BC, who told a press conference on April 4 that his government "putting together the same sort of legislative package as Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal which saved American capitalism."

But if the current NDP leadership sees its mission as "saving capitalism", they have the responsibility to clearly admit it to the rank and file of the Party. Then let the Party judge. We plan to orient ourselves to the overwhelming majority of rank and file members of the NDP who are more interested in ending capitalism than in saving it.

### The Challenge of the Left Caucus

What irony it is, that this same self-serving bureaucracy-- given its sorry record--attempts to dismiss its critics on the left as "utopian dreamers unconcerned with practical questions of power." It is the right wing misleaders of this Party who are the utopians and dreamers. It is they who do not confront the question of real working class power. It is they who refuse to recognize that by rejecting public ownership and leaving capitalist power intact in major sectors of the economy they leave private corporations to use their control of the economy to "blackmail" labour governments into "behaving" by threatening to manipulate the markets and create economic crises to erode the government's popular support. It is they who fail to recognize that the struggle for socialism is a struggle for workers control over the means of production and the state, particularly its coercive apparatus--the courts, police, military and public service. Where these economic and public institutions are left in capitalist hands, there can be no socialism--so significant alteration in the condition of the working class--no matter what political party holds office.

The Left Caucus is our open, democratic caucus of NDP militants who stand for working class powers based on a socialist programme. We want to see the NDP reach out to the working class and its allies-- farmers, women, students, unemployed, native people, Quebecois and other groups which comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. We demand that the NDP wholeheartedly identify with, and extend direct assistance and encouragement to, the struggles of the workers and all oppressed sectors, recognizing that the only road to socialist power lies in winning their active support, a precondition of which is a genuine responsiveness to their daily struggles.



The kind of socialist government envisaged by the Left Caucus would move boldly to consolidate its power against obstructive corporations by rallying the population behind it. It would take over the major sectors of the economy and operate them in a democratically planned way under workers' control, and use the economic surplus for much-needed, long-overdue social and economic change.

The kind of leadership we need would have as its priority the daily extraparliamentary struggles of the workers and others fighting to change their lives. It would of necessity, have to have a different relationship to its members. The base of the Party rather than the Parliamentary Caucus would become the focal point of the Party apparatus. Parliament would become a secondary part of the Party's strategy for power--a useful forum for the dissemination of socialist ideas.

The NDP needs to be a party of activists. The Party apparatus needs to mobilize and direct its members to link up with struggles in their communities. It must provide for sustained and vigorous debate, discussion, and education within the ranks in order to effectively equip its members to continue everyday struggles. It needs to publish a serious daily or weekly public press, financed by the trade unions, to counteract the lies of the bourgeois media. It needs to be a party open to all those committed to the struggle for socialism, recognizing the right of all socialist tendencies from reformist to revolutionary to fight for their ideas.

### Programme

We want to end capitalism, not save it. To this end, we want to encourage and deepen all contemporary struggles which undermine its ability to survive. The Left Caucus supports the following programme in connection with the following issues facing Party members:

### Labour

The present situation of world capitalism is compelling big business in Canada to mount a concerted attack on the standard of living and working conditions of the English Canadian and Quebec working classes.

Politically the attack is expressed through:

1. a propaganda campaign against unions, blaming them for inflation
2. increasing demands of capitalists and their parliamentary spokesmen for wage controls. In a capitalist society such controls are designed solely to limit or diminish the wages of workers and protect corporate profits.
3. growing attacks on the organizational independence and power of the unions through the use of strike-breaking legislation, court injunctions against mass picketing and legal impediments on the ability of workers to organize themselves into unions. The increasing use of professional strikebreaking companies is one manifestation of this trend.

### The Left Caucus:

1. opposes any support to government strikebreaking as it did by supporting the back-to-work legislation ending the longshoremen's strike. If in power the NDP should abolish all such legislation. The right to strike cannot be denied either at the time of contract negotiations, or during the life of a collective agreement.
2. calls for a legislated cost of living bonus for all wage workers and pensioners.
3. calls for a legislated 30 hour work week with no loss of pay
4. calls for active support of day-to-day labour struggles with a class struggle programme and calls for a mass educational campaign within the party and general public to alert them to the attack being mounted against the standard of living of the working class and the effective power of its organizations. It calls for an emergency conference on the issues of wage freeze if wage controls are introduced which should involve riding associations and affiliated unions and other groups to plan action against the freeze. It calls for conferences around the issue of mass layoffs and plant closures.
5. calls for ridings and unions to initiate a mass action campaign against the strike-breaking companies.

### Quebec

Quebec is an oppressed nation within the English-Canadian nation state. It is oppressed because it does not have basic rights in terms of language, culture and a national state. As socialists, Left Caucus supporters endorse the right of Quebec to self-determination. Quebec is also a nation with an advanced capitalist economy and a large working class. The struggle has recently erupted explosively in the form of strikes, demonstrations, and the occupation of factories, radio stations, and even a whole town. The struggle for workers' power and socialism has become linked with the struggle for national liberation.

### The Left Caucus:

1. Recognizes the right of Quebec to self-determination.
2. Calls for solidarity with the struggles of Quebec workers for an independent and socialist Quebec.
3. Calls for an education campaign in riding associations and affiliated unions on the national and social struggles in Quebec.
4. Calls for the mobilization of the party ranks in defence of Quebec workers' struggles whenever they occur.

### Women

Women are oppressed as a sex in capitalist society. Although the oppression of women began before capitalism developed, the reproductive and social relations of the capitalist system determines a woman's role and position within society-- the role of unpaid domestic worker, wife, mother, and super-exploited worker. These roles are vital to the economic and ideological maintenance of capitalism. Vital to capitalism is the work performed by women.

italist society. Vital in economic terms in the sense that both the domestic and reserve industrial labour that women perform is critical to the functioning of capitalism, and ideological in the sense that the nuclear family--where women do most of the work--trains and educates young people for their role in class society.

The struggle for the liberation of women is inextricably linked with the struggle for socialism because socialism provides the preconditions for the full liberation of women--although is by no means its guarantee. This means that the women's movement must ally itself with the workers' movement and together fight for their common goals. This means that the workers movement must take up the demands of women and incorporate them into its own. The NDP leadership has paid only lip-service to this question.

#### The Left Caucus:

1. Calls for maximum support to the women's movement and its mass campaigns around issues such as equal pay for similar work, 24 hour state-supported day care, free abortion on demand and free right and access to birth control, and unionization of women workers.
- 2 Encourages women's participation and leadership in the party through parity <sup>structures</sup> and internal education on the women's movement.

#### Canadian Nationalism

Canada attained political independence in 1867. Unlike Quebec, Canada has all the structures and rights of an independent nation--state-- controlled borders, a fully sovereign parliament, a standing army, and a capitalist class with active imperialist interests of its own. The Canadian economy is indeed dependent upon the American economy, although, as is evident from the monetary and trade crises wracking the world-wide capitalist system, all the imperialist countries are interdependent upon one another.

The interests of Canadian capitalists are tied to the interests of international capital. Canada is a weak partner in the world imperialist chain, but Canadian capitalists are quite capable of fighting for their own interests when in conflict with other interests. We saw this when Canadian banking interests successfully deposed US capital led by Rockefeller out of the domestic banking sector.

The roots of economic and social problems in Canada is the capitalist system. Regional disparities in Canada, for example, are due to the need for capital to centralize. American domination of the resource sector does not cause this problem; it merely aggravates it. American domination of the Canadian economy is a product of inter-imperialist dependency--the relative strength of the American capitalist class and Canada's geographic approximation to the US. Canadian nationalism by clouding over class differences and mystifying the causes of economic disparities in Canada can only retard the struggle for socialism. Nationalist groups like the Committee for an Independent Canada only obscure the realities of class society.

#### The Left Caucus:

1. Calls for the nationalization under workers' control of all the means of production, including agriculture, industry, and the
1. Industrial



major sectors of the economy including resource, finance, and the heavy industrial sectors, without compensation and regardless of the nationality of the owners.

2. Calls for solidarity with all anti-imperialist movements, especially those directed against the activities of Canadian capital, such as in the Caribbean.
3. Calls for a program of education in the party regarding the nature of the Canadian state and economy, and its relation to the international economy.

### International Issues

Capitalism is a world-wide system, and the conflicts and tensions inherent in the world capitalist system are continually breaking out all over the globe. In the advanced capitalist countries the struggles--from higher wage demands to general strikes and occupations--represent one aspect of continuing fight to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a socialist society. In the colonial and semi-colonial world, where many nations are fighting direct imperialist control, national liberation struggles are combined with the struggles of workers and poor peasants for socialism. And in the countries where capitalist property relations have been overthrown (Soviet Union, China, etc.) people are struggling to reassert the political control of the working class against the bureaucracies. We must extend our solidarity to all these struggles.

### The Left Caucus:

1. Opposes all intervention by capitalist countries in the affairs of other countries, whether this is by direct intervention (Canadian and American troops in Vietnam) or indirectly through bodies like the United Nations or the International Control Commission. These interventions always serve to prop up the reactionary regimes socialist revolutionaries are attempting to overthrow.
2. Opposes all imperialist alliances, and demands the NDP reaffirm its policy of withdrawal of Canada from NATO and NORAD.
3. Opposes military sales to imperialist governments, and demands an end to the defence production sharing agreements between Canada and the US.
4. Demands the release of all political prisoners held by repressive regimes throughout the world.

Chris Huxley  
Varda Kidd  
Jackie Larkin  
Steve Penner  
Barry Weisleder

(First 4 Wapblers-ed.)

Today one third of Canada's population consists of immigrants (more than four million immigrants, 650,000 of whom have settled in Metro Toronto, have come to Canada just since the end of the Second World War), the vast majority of which are either workers or of working-class origin and whose mother tongue is not either English or French.

Like all Canadian workers, they are faced with exactly the same problems as a working class faces in any industrially advanced society: they have to supply the manpower that the economic system needs in order to continue functioning and amassing big profits for its corporations.

Unlike their fellow Canadians, however, immigrant workers are in a much worse and more wretched condition, since it is they who have to supply the cheapest labour for the Canadian economic system, which can take advantage with impunity of a systematic and large-scale exploitation of the so-called "New Canadians". Being the most needy members of our "affluent" society, and not possessing or being incapable of using (when not prevented from using) those few means available to defend their rights, immigrant workers are given not only the most marginal, insecure and dangerous jobs but also the lowest wages. As a consequence we witness today a situation whose abnormal uniqueness can be neither explained nor justified by language barriers and cultural differences alone. We are therefore convinced that there must be, at the root of it all, a political problem and, as well, a political responsibility on the part of both the NDP and the Labour Movement.

If a socialist government alternative is still so remote in today's Canada, the responsibility is to be located in a lack of or ineptitude of labour leadership, and in the NDP's inability to obtain the votes of that one third of the electorate which is made up of immigrants, who are all workers and, as such, potential socialists.

To date, the NDP has not engaged in any visible activity aimed at involving all the immigrants in live, every-day debate of those social and political issues which are the most meaningful and relevant to them. Nor has the NDP ever made any effort to contact immigrant groups with which to establish a lasting and constructive relationship, through which alone significant policies can be worked out for them, because worked out with them.

The NDP's representative structure itself, which is disproportionately dominated by Anglo-Saxon Canadians, gives the impression that the Party is not at all capable of including immigrants in its mainstream, which would be the necessary (even if not sufficient) condition that would enable the Party to

become the impassioned spokesman for immigrants and their problems. For this reason immigrants have, so far, been precluded from any major relevant role within the Party itself, except for canvassing at election time.

There is a widespread impression that the presence of immigrants in the Party creates a rather embarrassing situation. In fact, while on the one hand some immigrants are needed to establish momentary relationships with ethnic groups whose votes the NDP needs very badly, on the other hand attempts are made to minimise as much as possible both their presence and such relationships, fearing, it would seem, that they would lower the respectability of the Party in the esteem of Anglo-Saxon Canadian voters.

This explains why our representatives at all governmental levels never speak openly and specifically for the immigrants' most pressing problems. We wish this analysis were mistaken, since its correctness implies that the NDP has forfeited the most elementary principles of Democratic Socialism - those principles for which millions of workers have been and are still struggling in a spirit of solidarity all over the world. But we must sadly acknowledge the basic validity of that analysis, even though it may be a little exaggerated. How else could we explain the fact that our representatives never take a firm stand against government policies which are contrary to the immigrants' interests? or that immigrants are never mentioned, not only in our general policy but not even in our electoral programs, at the very crucial moment when the Party is seeking the immigrant vote upon which alone it can ultimately rely?

Up to now the NDP has been totally negligent of all immigrants' rights and has not been able to work out, let alone to implement, one single piece of policy for them. It seems that at dozens of conventions and conferences all over the country the Party has never had either time or inclination to deal with the immigrants' countless and complex problems. The NDP's past behaviour is unforgiveable for the following two reasons:-

1. It has abdicated the basic socialist principle of solidarity with workers along with the defence of their material and intellectual interests.
2. It has allowed the Conservatives and the Liberals to capture, through a cynical use of patronage and power, the vote of so many immigrants that our Party has failed to organize and attract.

The past political conduct of the NDP is to be condemned even more severely when one takes into account the fact that it can in no way be justified on the bases of either practical or ideological considerations.



The steady increase of our Party's parliamentary strength does not refute our analysis: namely, that the immigrant workers who vote or actively support the NDP do so, not because they acknowledge it as their natural party. Such an increase must be attributed to a whole variety of factors, such as:-

1. development of class-consciousness (as has been clearly pointed out by Althusser);
2. the fact that many immigrant workers were already socialists in their native countries;
3. the lack in today's Canada of a political alternative on the left, which has nothing or little to do with the NDP.

The time has come for the NDP to acknowledge all its past inadequacies through an honest self-criticism. Let us remember that the only weapon a socialist party has in a capitalistic society is the strength of its ideas and its ability to use them in analysing the problems of the society, and proposing suitable solutions to them.

If we want seriously to change the present situation the NDP must establish solid relationships with all ethnic communities; have the courage to propose suitable solutions to all the immigrants' problems and become the real spokesman for them at all levels of the Canadian political life where their rights need to be defended and their interests protected.

The following is, therefore, a first and partial attempt to establish a policy for immigrants, under three headings:-

1. Education.
2. Labour.
3. Public Services.

#### 1. EDUCATION.

The general consensus among the majority of immigrant people is that the educational system has not been as sensitive and/or responsive to the needs of their children as they think it could and should have been. To begin with, the governments and the educators have made little or no attempt to understand and indeed to deal with the varied and complex problems that immigrant children are faced with in a school system and environment which is foreign to them. They have been so backward in their thinking that they have systematically resisted any attempt (now and again made by some enlightened but isolated individual or small group) to facilitate the integration of immigrant children into both the school system and the general fabric of Canadian society. Faced with a

tremendous influx of children from all over the world into the Canadian school system, the educators have only attempted to deal with the problem by using the most expedient and least taxing means available, so as to avoid the development of a state of turmoil which eventually would have disrupted the existing system itself. To this end our foresight-lacking educators followed a policy of assimilation which was doomed to failure from the very beginning, since immigrant children inevitably and completely rejected a system that had been designed for and catered to the Canadian middle class. At this point, when the scholastic authorities witnessed the total bankruptcy of their assimilation policy, instead of abandoning it in favour of a suitable integration policy, they resorted to a rather hasty solution which has worsened the already catastrophic situation.

They created special schools, called "vocational schools", that up to the present have proved to be disastrous, dooming a considerable number of young people to the same life of menial labour their parents have been and are still following. We believe that the reasons why this approach has so miserably failed are quite simple and can easily be traced back to:

- (a) lack of motivation on the part of the children as a consequence of being unable to cope with or understand the system;
- (b) the language barrier - both at home and in the school - with negative consequences to the life of immigrant families.

Needless to say, such an approach must be changed and we therefore propose that:-

1. For immigrant children just arriving and for the children of immigrant parents entering the school system at the elementary level, all scholastic instruction should be provided in their own language, with English phased in slowly over a period of three years so as to maintain their scholastic level with that of Canadian children.
2. Where there is a large enough ethnic minority, its language and grammar should be taught along with its history and culture as an optional subject for studies.
3. The entire system of screening children for vocational schools should be investigated with a view to ending any discrimination against ethnic groups in particular and the working class in general.
4. Mechanisms should be devised to examine and evaluate the educational background of each immigrant child; thus enabling the system to assign him a placement (up to now determined by age alone) that is best suited to a full development of all his potentialities.
5. Since the ever-increasing complexity of the Canadian educational system (which is beginning to be a real problem even for Anglo-Saxon Canadians)

The immigrant is not aware of his rights as a resident worker of this country, and is therefore exploited by interested community power brokers who know his language. For this reason no citizen participation occurs in ethnic groups, and therefore the need to vote, to become a citizen, and to become a permanent resident is not felt strongly enough. We therefore propose the following recommendations:-

- OK
- A) That the field of services to immigrants be generally increased, particularly for those ethnic groups from whose countries Canada is receiving an increasing number of immigrants;
- That social services be delivered and information be available in the language of the immigrant population surrounding the location of the service centre;
- That social services be completely decentralized into small units located in the ethnic communities;
- That each social service stimulate citizens' participation by involving the residents in policy-making decisions around community needs and service delivery in those communities where the services are located.
- B) That all government institutions located in ethnic communities employ officers who speak the languages of the community in numbers proportionate to the volume of services required by the immigrant groups;
- That interpreter services be made fully available, free of charge, in all hospitals and medical centres of the province;
- That the presence of an interpreter be mandatory in all courts (criminal and others) when an immigrant who shows difficulty in communicating is being tried. In all cases where the interpreter is not present the trial shall not be considered valid because it is as though the accused is not present;
- That interpreter courses be made available through the Department of Manpower and Immigration and through colleges and universities.



Resolution 15 - 8

AMENDMENT:

1. For newcomers, all academic instruction at the elementary level be provided in their own language, with English being phased in slowly over a period of 3 years so as to maintain their academic level with their Canadian peers.
2. Where there is a large enough ethnic minority that the language and its grammar be taught along with their culture and history as an optional subject for studies.
3. That the entire system of screening children for vocational school be investigated with a view to ending discrimination against ethnic groups and working class.
4. That the Trade Union Movement be encouraged to develop ethnic leadership among organized workers and that they extend organizing campaigns into low paid small industries where immigrant workers are exploited.
5. That the NDP and its elected representatives earn the status of political spokesmen for immigrant groups with regard to the most pressing problems that affect their lives in Canada, e.g. Workman's Compensation Board, Unemployment Insurance, Immigration Laws, etc.
6. That essential public services be made available and accessible to the immigrant population, through decentralization, strategic geographical distribution within each city and translation services.
7. That the right to vote be granted to all landed immigrants at the Municipal and Provincial level, after one year of residence in Ontario following the examples of countries such as Belgium and Austria.
8. That the qualifications required for government positions and its various institutions be reviewed with the aim of making such jobs accessible to immigrants.
9. That a committee of this Council be established to devise means by which party members and riding associations can involve themselves in the life of the ethnic communities.

(Found in Apr. 1973)

## For a Broad Socialist Opposition at the NDP Federal Convention

### The general situation

The NDP in 1973 is far different than the NDP of 1971. At the 1971 Federal convention, the Waffle, a broad left opposition organized from coast to coast was able to pose socialist concepts sharply at the convention. The Laxer leadership campaign that grew out of that left wing was able to win the support of one third of the delegates against the most notable exponent of the liberal-reformist views of the NDP leadership, David Lewis.

This left wing no longer exists as an organized force within the NDP. The Lewis witch-hunt against the Waffle in the Ontario NDP led to the departure from the NDP of decisive layers of the Waffle leadership and Waffle activists. The job of rebuilding a broad socialist opposition in the ONDP was left to those who founded the left caucus around a "stay and fight" class struggle perspective.

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In Manitoba and Alberta there is no organized left wing of significant size. In Saskatchewan, the left remains Waffle oriented, but is now discussing whether or not to remain in the NDP. While there is no organized left caucus in British Columbia, there is a considerable ferment among the membership of the party. The BC NDP women's rights committee is organizing to get the BC NDP to act on women's needs and a newly formed rank and file labor committee is organizing to force the BC NDP government to repeal the Social Credit anti-labor laws.

The situation in the NDP is varied and complex. Socialists in the NDP wishing to seriously organize a struggle for socialist policies at the Federal convention in July must have a flexible approach in order to take advantage of the openings that exist in the next three months.

### The necessity to stay and fight remains

Despite the immediate difficulties, the NDP membership is still faced with the need to fight for a program of social ownership of the giant corporations under workers control. It is still faced with the job of organizing against its liberal-reformist leadership for a program of class struggle demands which tackles the capitalist system roots and branch. It is up to socialists in the NDP to popularize this need and to demonstrate what has to be done. Delegate support for Left Caucus demands at the December 1972 ONDP convention, and the current ferment in the BC NDP membership shows that openings for rebuilding the left wing do exist. The question before the Left Caucus is how to do this in the most effective way.

### What is the most effective way?

A socialist opposition of any significance must be inclusive. It must be open to all those New Democrats and affiliated trade unionists willing to take action on the most important issues facing

the party against the policies of the leadership. Socialists in the NDP have to strive for genuinely non-exclusive coalitions of NDP members and unionists around a clear program of class struggle demands counterposed to the policies of the leadership.

The programmatic statements of the Left Caucus must serve this end. Analysis must be aimed at winning support for the caucus's programmatic proposals. The Left Caucus should not propose a comprehensive critique of Canadian capitalism which would in effect limit the caucus to supporters of a specific revolutionary point of view. The program must strive to unite NDPers who differ in ideological point of view and degree of understanding of the character of the NDP leadership and of the future course of the Canadian socialist movement -- but who agree on what must be done now in the NDP to oppose the leadership's course and advance a socialist alternative.

Past experience has proven the value of a leadership campaign in providing a focus for a left opposition and an opening to popularize its views when such a campaign is solidly based on an effective alliance of forces within the party. In this light the projection of a leadership campaign against David Lewis at the July convention demands serious consideration and a serious evaluation of how the forces essential to its success can be united and organized. Given the scattering of the forces that built the 1971 Laxer campaign, the first step in such a direction must be to establish contacts with other left forces across the country and feel out the concrete possibilities for a successful campaign. To launch such a campaign unilaterally and prematurely by deciding on a candidate and program before such an investigation takes place is the surest way to compromise the possibilities of success.

#### What has to be done

Although there are many pressures on the party leadership, it is not in the least challenged by isolated pockets of socialists. The challenge will come by striving to unite in action, Left Caucus supporters, NDP Waffle members, women's rights activists, Quebecois nationalists, union militants and others around areas of agreement in the period before and during the federal convention. The challenge is not to accept the isolation of socialists in the NDP by issuing sectarian "manifestoes", but struggling to end that isolation.

#### Picking up the issues

The real issues before the NDP have to be taken into the convention. The federal leadership has indicated they do not want to discuss issues like women's rights, Quebec, public ownership or foreign policy. These discussions must take place. The leadership says it wants to fight the next election around issues such as housing, resources and unemployment. Socialist policies must be adopted for these. Some of the demands socialists must now begin to organize around are:



a) unemployment and inflation

Against the party's acceptance of and responsibility for the "free-enterprise" system. Workers don't create unemployment. The NDP must advocate spreading the available work around through a progressive reduction in the work week, without pay reductions, beginning now with the 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay. The NDP must back union demands for automatic wage increases pegged to the increases in the cost of living so that workers living standards are not reduced through the price manipulations of the corporations. Secrecy surrounding price rises must end. The corporations must be forced to open their books to the public. Unions, consumers, housewives, farmers should be encouraged to organize their own price-watch committees to document and expose the real rate of inflation. The food processing industry must be placed under public ownership and workers control. Employers do not have the right to shut down. If employers cannot run their plants they must be taken over and run under public ownership. All forms of incomes policies or wage controls must be rejected by the NDP.

b) anti-labor legislation

The NDP must refuse to participate in any attempt to limit trade union rights. It must stand unequivocally against any curbs on the right to strike and any form of compulsory arbitration for any group of workers. The party did the working people of Canada a disservice when it supported parliamentary strike-breaking legislation against railway workers in 1965 and the BC dockworkers in 1972. The NDP must fight for the repeal of all anti-labor legislation such as Bill 89 in Quebec. Where it has taken office as in BC the party must wipe anti-labor laws like Bill 33 off the books. A labor caucus at the federal convention must be encouraged to fight for these policies.

c) resources

The rape of resources in Canada by the huge corporations poses sharply the necessity for the NDP to have a clear policy placing resources within Canada under the control of the working people. Nothing less is required than a policy of public ownership of the resources or energy industries under the control of those who work them within the framework of a planned economy.

d) defense of the struggle of the Quebecois

At the 1971 federal convention the federal leadership carried an impassioned campaign against taking a stand in favor of the right of self-determination of the Quebecois nation. The widening wage gap between Ontario and Quebecois workers indicates the deepening national oppression of the Quebecois. Pious platitudes such as "stand together, understand together" only serve to cover up this oppression. It is the responsibility of the NDP in English Canada and Quebec to fight it. A vigorous mass campaign to free

the imprisoned labor leaders in Quebec must be part of the defense of the rights of the Quebecois. The NDP must stand firmly behind the right of self-determination of the Quebecois.

e) women's liberation

A most profound radicalization is taking place among women today. Yet the party leadership, despite some far-reaching planks concerning women's rights in areas of the NDP program, continues merely to play lip service to and worse resist the radicalization of women both inside and outside the NDP. This must change at the federal convention. A NDP women's caucus should be built at the federal convention, open only to women to ensure that this situation changes. The convention must establish a federal women's rights committee in the party along the lines of the women's rights committee in the BC NDP. It must be run by women, must be able to utilize party resources and have the power to decide and then organize women inside and outside the party around the many issues women are now struggling around: childcare, repeal of the anti-abortion laws, equal pay and so on. A federal women's rights committee must be able to produce a publication edited by women along the lines of the BC NDP women's newspaper Priorities. The party must actively back the struggles of women. In particular it must support its parliamentary campaign for repeal of the anti-abortion laws through active support to the organized expression of the abortion law repeal movement -- the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

f) housing

Housing has always been a question -- an unresolved question in the "free-enterprize" system. The NDP must give real answers to this need. Demands for public ownership of municipal land must be accompanied by a massive construction program of low cost government subsidized public housing under tenant control. This must be placed in the perspective of public ownership of the entire housing industry so that housing can be planned for need not for profit.

g) foreign policy

Despite illusions of peace fostered by the Vietnam accords, the war continues. The U.S. remains in Indochina bombing Cambodia and Laos and threatening new aggression against North Vietnam. The complicity of the Canadian government in the war is now being extended to 19 years through participation in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS). In the space of a few weeks the role of Canadian personnel on the ICCS has been revealed as apologists for the Saigon regime. The federal leadership of the party has done an about face and now calls for the withdrawal of Canadian forces. Previously the Federal Caucus had violated the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination by supporting international supervision of the accords and Canadian

participation in the ICCS. The party must take a firm stand behind those people struggling against imperialist domination. The party must renew its demand for the complete withdrawal of the U.S. from southeast Asia, an end to the bombing, the withdrawal of Canada from the ICCS, and the return of Canadian forces from Indochina. The party must extend this anti-imperialist position by campaigning for Canadian withdrawal from all imperialist alliances--NATO, NORAD--and no support to the Organization of American States (OAS).

What has to be done?

There is no shortcut around the necessary leg work to have a serious impact on the convention. The above demands and others which may come forward must be put into resolution form and taken through ridings before the June 20 resolution deadline. Left Caucus supporters must attend riding meetings and begin to campaign to become delegates to the federal convention. Similar activities must be carried on in the affiliated trade unions.

The Left Caucus Newsletter must be changed from an abstract commentator to an effective organizer for the participation of socialists in the federal convention. This can be done in collaboration with publications like Priorities edited by NDP women in BC, or This Year Country, published by Waffle oriented New Democrats in Saskatchewan. The Newsletter must become a clearing house of information and views on what the left is doing in the next few months. It must publish suggested resolutions and reports on what is happening in the BC NDP, Saskatchewan and other areas of the party.

All this underlines the kind of work necessary to begin to rebuild a broad socialist left wing. At this point it is not clear how much can be achieved, how organized or cohesive the socialist forces at the federal convention might be or what form they might take--whether, for example, there will be one general umbrella caucus or a series of caucuses fighting for their own demands. This cannot be determined now by a handful of socialists in one part of the country before the necessary organizing is begun.

But it is clear that the experience of rank and file New Democrats over the past two years with the Lewis purge of the Waffle in Ontario, with the NDP governments in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and BC, with the support of the Federal Caucus for the Liberal Party in the House, coupled with the continuing radicalization and increasingly difficult economic situation before Canadian capitalism, have provided openings for an increasing receptivity to socialist criticisms of the NDP's liberal-reformist program, and the socialist and class struggle alternative.

Liz Berkeley - St. Davids, Executive

Howard Brown - St. Andrew-St. Patrick

Rozi Doctorow - York Mills, Provincial Council delegate

Julie Tolentino - St. Davids, Executive

(Internal Bulletin  
Signed by LSAers-ed.)



FILE

(Found in Spring 1973) / Haver  
(USA-13)

The following appeal is being submitted for adoption by the  
Left Caucus by:

Liz Barclay, St. Davids Executive  
Howard Brown, St. Andrew St. Patrick  
Rozi Doctorow, York Mills Provincial Council  
delegate  
Jule Tolentino, St. Davids Executive

Fight for Socialist Policies at the 1973 Federal NDP Convention

The 1973 Federal NDP convention takes place in Vancouver  
July 20-23.

The convention will be held in the context of spiralling in-  
flation, growing unemployment, drastic cutbacks in social ser-  
vices and the increasing use of anti-labor legislation against  
the rights of working people, and the spectre of wage controls.

In short, it is the working people and the oppressed, women,  
Quebecois, native people, youth, the poor, the organized and un-  
organized -- those who are least able to pay -- who are bearing  
the brunt of rising international competition among the major  
capitalist powers.

All this underscores the incapacity of the profit system to  
meet the needs of the majority and the necessity to struggle for  
social ownership of the giant corporations under the control of  
the working people.

The program of the NDP is inadequate. Over the past period  
for example, the NDP federal caucus has indicated support for a  
wage and incomes policy, has supported the International Commis-  
sion for Control and Supervision (ICCS) which has served to  
cover up continued aggression by the U.S. against the Indochinese  
people and opposed the national rights of the people of Quebec.

Why?

Because, while the NDP leadership seeks through parliament  
alone to win reforms, they do not support the abolition of capi-  
talism and the replacement of the domination of the big profit  
motivated monopolies, with a socialist economy based on social  
ownership of the resources, factories and financial institutions  
and planned production controlled by working people to meet the  
needs of people -- not profits.

At the 1971 federal convention over a third of the delegates  
fought for policies directed against the capitalist system around  
a number of important questions. The struggle for class struggle  
policies must continue at the 1973 federal convention. The  
issues which received the widest discussion at that convention,  
women's liberation, the Quebec national struggle, defense of  
workers rights, public ownership of industry and so on are even  
more relevant today that they were in 1971.

in effect same  
as my original  
statement

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## Fight for Socialist Policies at the 1973 Federal NDP Convention

-2-

The Left Caucus, formed in August 1972, is a group of socialists in the Ontario NDP who agree on the necessity to organize and fight for socialist policies within the NDP -- policies which tackle the capitalist system root and branch.

We feel that the 1973 federal convention is an opportune time for socialists within the NDP to unite their forces so that a renewal campaign for such policies can be conducted in the most effective way possible.

We feel that some of the most important questions facing the NDP at this convention, ones which reflect real struggles of working people today and which demand socialist answers, include: the struggle against inflation, unemployment, cutbacks in social services and the increasing use of anti-labor legislation; the fight against the plunder of resources by the huge corporations and for native rights; the developing movement for women's liberation; the struggle of the Quebecois for national self-determination; the struggle to end the deepening housing crisis; and defense of people around the world, particularly in the continuing war in Southeast Asia, who are in revolt against imperialist domination.

The Left Caucus urges New Democrats across the country who agree with the necessity to organize to fight for socialist policies at the federal convention, to do the necessary work that is required before the June 20 resolution deadline, in order to ensure that the socialist alternative will be heard.

In the next few weeks, resolutions must be taken to the ridings and affiliated union locals. Delegates must be elected who support these resolutions. Those interested in helping to co-ordinate this work are urged to get in touch with the Left Caucus.

FILE

## THE ISSUE IS UNITY

We outlined our view of the perspectives before socialists in the NDP and the tasks facing the Left Caucus in preparation for the Federal Convention in a previous discussion paper titled: FOR A BROAD SOCIALIST OPPOSITION AT THE NDP FEDERAL CONVENTION. This paper was mailed out by the Steering Committee. We included a couple of paragraphs in which we stated our opinion that socialists, to be effective, "have to strive for genuinely non-exclusive coalitions of NDP members and unionists around a clear program of class struggle demands counterposed to the policies of the leadership."

We went further and said: "The programmatic statements of the Left Caucus must serve this end. Analysis must be aimed at winning support for the caucus's programmatic proposals. The Left Caucus should not propose a comprehensive critique of Canadian capitalism which would in effect limit the caucus to supporters of a specific revolutionary point of view. The program must strive to unite NDPers who differ in ideological point of view and degree of understanding of the character of the NDP leadership and of the future course of the Canadian socialist movement -- but who agree on what must be done now in the NDP to oppose the leadership's course and advance a socialist alternative."

These few sentences were written before the appearance of the draft "manifesto" submitted by members of the Toronto-based group of the Steering Committee. The submission of the manifesto, its contents and the stated intention of its authors to press it for a vote at this conference confront the Left Caucus with a very grave situation. Now we want to elaborate our view on this important matter.

### WHAT IS THE LEFT CAUCUS?

The Left Caucus was formed at the Delaware conference of the Waffle in the summer of 1972.\* It was composed of NDPers from cities and towns all over Ontario who opposed the decision of the Laxer-Watkins Waffle leadership to abandon the struggle for socialist policies against the NDP leadership in the party. The initial conference of the Left Caucus in September of 1972 re-affirmed the original intentions of the "stay and fight" caucus at Delaware to establish a broad non-exclusionary Caucus of left militants and socialists in the NDP to fight for socialist policies.

The September Conference adopted a policy statement titled THE ROLE OF THE LEFT CAUCUS IN THE NDP. That statement said: "We wish to encompass all those party members who are willing to pose a socialist alternative to the NDP". Thus the caucus was to be a broad caucus around socialist policies. The caucus was to have a relatively loose coordinating structure to serve that goal. It was to be democratic, with conferences of supporters to decide key questions and a representative steering committee bound by conference decisions. The coordinating committee was to be responsible for a newsletter "which is not editorial and which is composed

\* July 19-20-72.



## ...2 The Issue is Unity

solely of information or position papers sent from local groups or individuals..."

The Caucus was never based upon an analysis of Canadian capitalism or the NDP leadership or the future course of Canadian socialism, as we said earlier. It was formed as a simple united front of left wingers in the NDP and they held widely varying analyses and views but agreed on a few basic policies to fight for in the party.

This worked well enough to win a wide hearing for socialist policies at the Ontario NDP convention least December. Since then, unfortunately, a different and destructive process has unfolded. The Ontario Steering Committee has not functioned. Instead the Toronto group within the Steering Committee has acted as the leading committee. For example it published the first issue of the Left Caucus Newsletter. Within the Toronto group a majority developed which held an entirely different view of the Left Caucus than the one adopted at the conference and they began to implement their view, using their majority in the Toronto steering committee -- even though their view had no mandate from the Left Caucus Conference.

The Left Caucus Newsletter and the proposed Manifesto express the views of the Toronto steering committee majority. The Left Caucus Newsletter presents much of their particular views and analysis, analysis with which there is wide disagreement in the Caucus. Appearing as it does in the Newsletter, this analysis becomes, in the eyes of many New Democrats, the view of the entire Caucus. To act in such a fashion is to act against the unity of the Left Caucus. No single view can be imposed on the Caucus if it is to act as a vehicle for united action by left militants with varying views.

To impose a single view is to transform the Caucus into an instrument solely for those who hold that view. It is to transform the Caucus from a broad non-exclusionary formation to an exclusive circle of ideologically homogeneous militants, more a political party than a broad caucus -- and destined in this period in the NDP to be a small and isolated and therefore relatively useless grouping for left NDP militants.

The authors of this paper hold different views than those expressed in the Newsletter and the draft manifesto. We think for example that they present an incorrect view of the nature of the NDP, the origins and role of the NDP bureaucracy, and how best to carry a struggle against that bureaucracy. But we do not wish to impose our analysis on the caucus. We will restrict ourselves to proposing specific socialist policies on some of the key questions facing the NDP.

We protested the contents of the Newsletter when it appeared. We urged the Steering Committee majority in Toronto to return to the course initially set by the September conference. But the appearance of the draft manifesto confirms that its authors intend to push forward at this conference. They are moving to culminate at this conference the process of making the Left Caucus exclusively their property, with their specific

### ...3 The Issue is Unity

analysis, their world view.

We have explained our opinion to the drafters of the manifesto. We have urged them to pull back -- not to break the unity of socialists within the NDP. We have urged them not to propose the manifesto for a vote -- but to enter it simply as a discussion paper. We urge this course once again.

In our view, unity can be maintained by adopting our statement, "Fight for Socialist Policies at the 1973 Federal NDP Convention," which reaffirms the broad non-exclusionist character of the caucus established at its founding.

Draw back from your course of disunity. Permit all left militants in the NDP to unite around the fight for clear socialist policies in the NDP. Permit the caucus to act to ensure that the socialist alternative is heard at the federal convention.

Liz Barkley, St. David's Executive  
Howard Brown, St. Andrew-St. Patrick  
Rozi Doctorow, York Mills Provincial  
Council Delegate

Julie Tolentino, St. David's Executive

(LSA on ed.)

# 'Class against class' - Road forward for Left Caucus

This paper is intended not as a 'manifesto' but as a guide for the functioning of the Left Caucus in the coming period. The authors of this paper feel what should be brought to the NDP Convention is not some 'manifesto' containing a detailed world outlook to be presented to party members, or a series of 'socialist' resolutions admonishing the party to alter its course, but a class struggle perspective based upon real questions facing working people. Only by becoming a caucus that is a part of the struggle of the working class, can this caucus make real gains against the misleadership of the party and trade union bureaucracy. Of course there are real limitations due to numbers, but this should not hold us back from efforts to implement such a perspective. In a period that a caucus should have grown, considering the role of the NDP Federal caucus, and the 'toady' role of the trade union leadership, we have witnessed a shrinking of our forces. It is to this problem, and the problem of working class leadership that this paper is addressed.

The struggle for socialism is not simply a struggle of contending ideologies, but in its highest expression is the struggle of contending classes.

In this period the central crisis facing the working class, is the crisis of leadership. The 'official' working class leadership, in the NDP and trade unions has not only failed to lead the working class against the capitalist offensive but in fact, in more than a few occasions, has stood as a part of the capitalist offensive against wages, immigrants, and the right to strike and organize. Increasingly there is an attempt to tie the trade unions to the bourgeois government. The NDP and trade union leadership has been a part of that through 'labor-management guidelines', 'labor courts', etc. Prime examples of the approach of the NDP can be found in its refusal in B.C. to repeal reactionary Socred anti-labor legislation, in Manitoba by the NDP government sending welfare recipients to 'slave labor' for their miserly pittance, and federally by support to back-to-work legislation (B.C. and Quebec longshoremen strike), supporting the jailing of the Quebec labor leaders ('sentence was unrealistically long'), and support with token criticism to reactionary and racist immigration measures that sent up to 250,000 workers into hiding and substandard employment.

Why does the NDP do such things? Why does a supposed 'socialist' party, supported by the trade union movement and which is not bourgeois by social composition, support measures repressive to the working class and small farmers, measures which only serve to bolster the profits and rule of the capitalists?

The answer to that question lies in the nature of the NDP. The NDP is a party which was predominately founded by the trade union bureaucracy. Although the trade union bureaucracy always attempted to keep from 'direct control' (as that could prove to be embarrassing), it nevertheless exercised its control at crucial moments (as anyone who went through the Waffle experience well knows). If one had to look for a few words to describe the political role of the labor bureaucracy, those words would be, 'The labor lieutenants of capital.' Even the most backward and 'apolitical' leader has his political role in the workers' movement.

All this does not mean to say that the NDP is a 'bourgeois' party. By program it certainly is, but by what relationship the working class has with it, and by how workers view the party, it certainly is not. The workers' bureaucracy doesn't exist independently of the level of the consciousness of the working class. The Trade

Union bureaucracy holds power because tens and hundreds of thousands of workers support them under the illusion that they seriously stand for reform. The consciousness of the working class does not arise from thin air but arises from something very real and material, the defensive relationship of the trade unions to the bourgeois state, which in turn gives rise to the illusion of the NDP (as a creature of the bureaucratically controlled trade union movement) as a reformist party.

In fact because of the deep running crisis of capitalism on a world-wide scale, reformism as a tool to keep the working class submissive cannot be used outside of placing the capitalist class itself in crisis and the working class on the offensive. The prospect of this development threatens the leadership of the trade union bureaucracy as it moves against the material conditions it is based upon, and because it alters class relations and in turn gives rise to the spectre of mass revolutionary consciousness in the working class.

Not only because the NDP and its bureaucratic leadership stand against 'socialist measures' but because that party and its leadership stand against (in a way they attempt unsuccessfully to fully hide) the reformist consciousness of the working class, a struggle must be waged against that leadership. Historically it has been shown that those who hold the perspective of 'transforming' conservatism 'reformist' workers' parties such as the NDP into 'revolutionary' workers' parties, hold a schematic and essentially bankrupt view.

Consequently we do not wish to spread illusions of the feasibility of reform in the NDP, but that does not hold us back from placing demands on the party and trade union leadership to that effect, precisely to destroy illusions of the possibility of such 'reform', and to mobilize working people independently of the control of the bureaucratic leadership.

Because the Waffle did not build a sufficient base in the trade unions and because the Waffle could not build a real opposition to the trade union bureaucracy it was drummed out of the Party. Those who stayed did so under the banner of 'stay and fight'. 'Stay and fight' became in short order the 'Left Caucus', which numerically was but a small rump of the old Waffle. What was meant by 'stay and fight' was never clearly understood, and in effect has been a point of controversy in the 'Left Caucus' since its inception.

## CLASS AGAINST CLASS

What is needed is a caucus constructed in the NDP based upon the fight - Class against class! This requires a caucus not just of 'leftists', 'socialists', etc. but a caucus of those who are willing to integrate themselves into the struggle of the working class. This must be done on the basis of the independence of the working class and its organizations from the state, and the struggle to represent the interests of the working class as a whole (this meaning that the working class, men, women, immigrants, Canadian and Quebec, organized and unorganized, have common interests, and their struggles must take on common expression). In the struggle to unify the working class there are raised certain democratic and national questions. Specifically these questions relate to women, Quebec, the dispersed and national minorities (such as Indians, Metis, etc). These questions, and resultant demands, have no special importance outside the struggle of the working class for power.



The struggle of the working class opens the road to the solution to these problems. There can be no solution to these national and democratic questions within the confines of capitalist property relations.

How should a struggle be waged in the NDP? We can take a guide from the September 1972 conference which founded the Left Caucus. At that conference a perspective was adopted of fighting for conferences of trade union locals and NDP riding associations on various questions facing the working class. Specifically mentioned were the possibility of conferences on 'Mass layoffs and plant closings', 'Strikebreaking', and 'Wage freeze'. Although to be fair, the question of implementing such a perspective through the riding associations and trade union locals, depends on a number of tactical considerations, such as relationship of forces, time, place, specific subject, etc. Nevertheless, it is the case, that the Left Caucus has not sought (even in a rudimentary way) to implement this perspective. In fact the Left Caucus, working through the NDP and trade union locals, has not intervened in class struggle (outside of offering 'solidarity', 'support'-whatever significance that may have). For example, in the case of the Dare strike, which is certainly not something new, the perspective of a conference on strike breaking if it had been fought for, even if only in areas in which we have strength, would have pointed the way to centralize and give strength to the struggle of the labor movement against strikebreaking. Now the Dare strikers have been forced to take the initiative in their own defense and to fight an uphill battle for support and a real mobilization by the labor movement. The struggle for such a conference, even if it was not won, at least would have served to mobilize forces for later gains, and would have served to point the way for the necessary forms of future mobilization. The struggle on such concrete questions has a much greater significance than the fight for 'this or that' resolution raised in an abstract manner. One small movement of the working class is worth a dozen resolutions.

As we have shown earlier, the way in which class consciousness is altered on a mass scale is through the actual struggle of contending classes, and the results these struggles register. The only way forward in the NDP is first of all to recognise that the struggle cannot proceed just through the NDP—but must also proceed through the trade unions—because the obstacle is not just the party 'brass', but the trade union bureaucracy which is a major prop of capitalist rule. Without the defeat of the misleaders of the working class it will be impossible to gain hegemony in the class.

## IN CONCLUSION

Even the name 'Left Caucus'—'Left Caucus Newsletter' is indicative of the problems of the Caucus. What does 'Left' mean? What perspective does it put forth? What tasks does it pose? What is needed in the NDP and trade unions is not a coalition of 'leftists' out to 'save' the working class, but a 'class struggle caucus' based on the very real struggles of working people—upon the struggle to defend the Dare workers, the struggle against Bill 89 in Quebec, the fight against anti-labor legislation in BC—upheld by the NDP in power. Such a caucus based upon 'class against class' would seek to be an integral part of class struggle—not a casual commentator as is the Left Caucus today. Such a caucus could go to the NDP convention based upon the real struggles of working people, not just the abstract morality of some 'manifesto' or the simple battle for 'socialist' resolutions, most likely to be lost, if won to be forgotten.

The fight of militants in the NDP and trade unions must be to centralize and give common expression to the struggle of working people. Of course, behind every political action there exists a 'general viewpoint', but that general viewpoint is not won through preaching but through the practical experiences of working people in struggle. What the Left Caucus majority has done is to reverse that process—and by so doing, move to isolate itself from the struggle of the working class.

\* Ross Ashley (St Andrew-St. Patrick)

R. Sherwood (Riverdale)

R. Fergus (Riverdale)

(A Lambertiste current-ed.)

## LEFT CAUCUS STATEMENT

This convention is being held at a critical moment in this history of our party and country. Provincial and federal governments have proven themselves completely unable to resolve this country's continuing economic crisis. In such a situation the party of the left has both an increased opportunity and a sobering responsibility to provide a clear alternative to the parties of big business.

The NDP has now a real presence at the federal level and is the government in three provinces. Clearly the time is ripe for a socialist breakthrough. But how has the NDP leadership responded to this challenge? Instead of developing a program adequate to the situation or revitalizing the base of the party and its links with the workers movement at the rank and file level, the leadership of the ONDP has been more concerned with purging the Waffle and readjusting Steven Lewis' 'image'. But the left in the party is still alive and with your support we hope to present a strong challenge to the direction of the party's present leadership.

### Imperialism in Crisis

Capitalism on a world scale is in crisis. The developing rivalry among American, Japanese and European corporations for shrinking world markets has produced a serious monetary crisis and ever more frequent economic recessions. During the period of prosperity and expansion during the fifties and sixties, the workers of advanced capitalist countries were granted some concessions by the ruling class - largely at the expense of workers and peasants in the exploited neo-colonies which the imperialist were milking dry. But the world is changing, and the men who rule, have less and less room to manoeuvre and expand as their profit rates demand. The result: the working class at home bears the cost.

In Canada, the signs are clear enough. Rising unemployment, inflation, massive cutbacks in social expenditure (housing, welfare, education) and an onslaught on the labour movement. In such a critical situation, the NDP must be absolutely clear about its direction and the solution it offers the Canadian people. With NDP governments in power in three provinces and a federal election which has given the NDP the balance of power, the responsibility is greater than ever to address ourselves to the fundamental problems facing Canadian workers.

The attack on working class power, the deepening radicalization of women, the crisis of the Canadian state resulting from the nationalist and class upsurges in Quebec, and the continuing role that Canada plays as a lapdog to American foreign policy, are the challenges facing us. The NDP is the only party financed and controlled independently of the corporations, and the only party claiming to represent the interests of the working class and its trade unions. The NDP bears a heavy responsibility to defend the workers movement in this critical period.

### NDP Leadership Confused

Supporters of the Left Caucus are convinced that the NDP has so far failed to meet its responsibilities. The recent federal election campaign is an example of the confused manner in which the NDP leadership is responding to the developing capitalist crisis.

The 'corporate welfare bums' theme dominated the entire campaign and certainly presented a different 'image' to the electorate than that of the big business parties. But plagiarizing Eric Kierans' analysis of the tax loophole acrobatics of big business is no model for a socialist party.

The basic cause of the problems facing workers - the exploitation of labour for profit by big business - was never raised. Lewis continued to emphasize that "Corporations are not the enemy", and that he was not a "doctrinaire socialist". The question of public ownership was almost entirely ignored. Instead a 'modest' proposal to plug the loopholes and make the corporations act as 'good citizens' was offered. All the key questions - labour, foreign policy, Quebec - were allowed to fade into the far distance, while the corporate welfare bums squirmed in their seat under David Lewis' scolding. The failure to project any meaningful solutions left the door open for Stanfield to capture much of the discontented vote.

### Public Ownership

The refusal of the leadership to recognize the necessity of a forthright policy of public ownership under workers' control is as complete at the provincial level of the party as it is at the federal level. Whatever happened to the motion, overwhelmingly passed at the last ONDP convention advocating public ownership of energy resource industries? It was assigned to the file drawer containing the resolutions the party leaders couldn't defeat on the convention floor.

### The Attack on Labor

What has been the response to the developing attack on the power and independence of organized labour and the growing resistance by business and its governmental allies to attempt to organize the hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers. The response has been more than inadequate, it has been a betrayal. NDP federal caucus members supported injunctions sending BC and Quebec dockers back to work. The argument was advanced that an NDP government would do the same thing, in the 'national interest', when faced with the difficulties of managing a capitalist economy. Yet surely the goal of this party must be a socialist economy in which the interests of the working class would stand above those of the 'national interest'!

On election night, David Lewis conceded that he would consider a wage freeze, if coupled with effective price control. Some members of the provincial caucus have also expressed their support for wage freezes "if necessary".

No attempts have been made, by the leadership, to organize mass public defense of the living and working conditions of Canadian workers. Ignoring the historical fact that all significant gains of the working class have been won through mass struggle, the political and union leaders of the NDP continue to repeat their litany - elect the NDP and all will be well. They massively underestimate the power of capital which confronts workers. We call upon this convention to adamantly oppose any form of wage freeze and to support mass campaigns against such legislation. Furthermore, we call on delegates to support a mass campaign against the strikebreaking efforts of both business and government.



There can be no equivocation on these questions. When the chips are down and the attack on working people is escalated still further, the NDP leadership cannot be on both sides of the fence. It cannot on the one hand claim to lead a party representing the interests of the working class, and at the same time justify anti-labour positions in the name of a 'national' interest which is nothing more than the interest of Canadian capitalists.

#### Quebec - Class Struggle-

In Quebec last spring the largest general strike in Canadian history gave the clearest warnings yet of the refusal of workers to have the burden of the developing economic recession dumped on their backs. A working class party must not only defend, but should welcome such expressions of worker militancy. When workers make it clear that they will tolerate their exploitation no longer, that is an advance in the socialist struggle - not a crisis which NDP leaders should back away from. But David Lewis acknowledges only that the jail sentences to union leaders were 'too severe' and he gives advice to the ruling class and its political allies to go easy on the union leaders - lest, more militant workers replace them.

Neither the federal nor provincial leadership of the NDP has come to terms with the political implications of their understanding that Quebec is a separate nation. The right of self-determination is an elementary principle which should follow. Neither the provincial nor federal organization of the NDP makes any effort to educate the public on the key questions relating to Quebec, nor did they attempt to mobilize party members or the public generally in defense of Quebec workers.

#### Women's Liberation

On the question of women, the record has also been dismal. A comprehensive program was passed at the last ONDP convention - only a few murmers about these policies have trickled forth from ONDP caucus members. Within the party itself, the leadership continues to be dominated by men, union delegations to conventions remain overwhelmingly male, and no serious attempts were made to field more women NDP candidates. In this, as in every other area the question of mass mobilization is never raised. The movement to repeal the abortion laws has been ignored in all but the most superficial way. NDP election brochures, in a futile attempt to increase the party's female vote, treat women simply as consumers who supposedly spend all their hours worrying about food prices.

All this has taken place against the background of a deep and powerful radicalization of women. Many of those who have become conscious of their position in society have come to identify their liberation cause with the overall task of creating a socialist world. But the record of the NDP often appears as if five years of women's liberation politics has essentially by-passed the party. The women who are radicalized look elsewhere for a political vehicle.

#### Vietnam

The war in Vietnam continues while the NDP leadership buries its head in the mud - in the stance of those who see barbarism around them but refuse to act. Attempts to mobilize the party rank and file to support anti-war demonstrations and express the internationalism of which socialists so long have spoken, have been pitiful in recent years. Now Canadian troops to 'keep the peace' are on

the agenda. This convention, as did the BCNDP convention, must absolutely refuse any support for Canadian involvement in Vietnam, under the guise of a "peacekeeping" role.

We know all too well how past Liberal and Tory governments have covered up and contributed to the dirty work of the U.S. in this criminal war. The workers and peasants of Vietnam are fighting for their liberation. No troops sent by a capitalist country will act in their interest, any more than will the Canadian state and its forces act in the interests of Canadian workers. We demand an end to Canadian complicity in the war. No peacekeeping troops!

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When the Lewis leadership moved to expel the Waffle from the party, they attempted to expel socialist ideas as well. A strong ongoing Left Caucus is necessary to ensure that this does not occur. We invite all those who broadly share our perspective to join the fight for changes in the ONDP program, leadership and political work. The Left Caucus will fight to make clear the real nature of the problems facing Canadian workers and to put forward serious proposals for fundamental social change. We will be caucusing each night of the convention to determine our strategy for the next day. The places and times of these meetings will be announced.

*Canned*

*LD*

WHEREAS the present situation of world capitalism is compelling big business in Canada to mount a concerted attack on the standard of living and working conditions of the English Canadian and Quebec working classes.

Economically this is expressed through a constant rise in the cost of living coupled with increasing unemployment caused in part by plant closures and mass layoffs.

Politically the attack is expressed through 1. a concerted propaganda campaign against unions blaming them for inflation.

2. Growing attacks on the organizational independence and power of trade unions through the use of strike breaking legislation, court injunctions against mass picketing and legal impediments to the ability of workers to organize themselves into unions. The increasing use of professional strike breaking companies is an important and particularly dangerous manifestation of this trend.

3. Increasing demands of big business leaders and their parliamentary spokesmen, notably Robert Stanfield, the national leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, for a so-called "incomes policy" including a wage freeze.

The incontrovertable experience throughout the capitalist world is that wage controls, even when implemented by "labour" governments, have the effect of diminishing the real wages of workers and expanding corporate profits.

AND WHEREAS prominent leaders of the NDP have in recent statements equivocated on their position relating to wage controls. Most disturbing is the recent statement in support of wage controls by David Barrett, NDP Premier of British Columbia.

BE IT RESOLVED: 1. That the NDP give no support to government strikebreaking.

2. Urge the abolition of all restrictive labour legislation and when in power itself abolish all such legislation. ✓

3. That the NDP go on record as believing that the right to strike cannot be denied any group of workers either at the time of contract negotiations or during the life of a collective agreement. ✓

4. The NDP must actively support the day-to-day struggles of labour. It should undertake a mass education campaign within the party and general public to alert them to the attack being mounted against the standard of living of the working class and the effective power of its organizations. ✓

5. That the New Democratic Party is unalterably opposed to any form of legislated wage controls and disassociates itself from any statements made by its representatives supporting their imposition. ✓

6. In the event that wage controls are introduced the NDP will take a leading role in developing and implementing a programme of mass political and industrial action to resist the freeze. ✓

7. The NDP should undertake mass action campaigns for the purpose of terminating the operation of professional strike breaking companies. ✓



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## RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

We live in a capitalist society. All the ills of this society are directly related to the unplanned, chaotic nature of the economy dominated as it is by capital, especially in its integrated and dependant relationship with foreign imperialism. The only way to change this society and rid it decisively of its inherent social injustices is to break the power of the capitalist class both politically and economically. As socialists, we must commit ourselves to the struggle for the democratic ownership and control of all major economic institutions by the working class. Without large scale public ownership, consideration of other basic socialist goals, like income redistribution, rational economic planning, and workers' control, become utopian. Without control of the key sectors of the economy, an NDP federal government will be the reformist housekeeper of a society dominated by capital, both foreign and domestic, (just as the three provincial NDP governments play this role today). Clearly, the growing concentration of power, both economic and political, in the hands of the corporate rulers contradicts any 'functional socialist' notion that public ownership is an "obsolete economic panacea", that 'progressive' governments can 'selectively employ' public ownership as one of many 'tools in the more humane and efficient management of a capitalism already purged of its traditional problems.

The choices for socialists are clear. As long as corporate domination of the economic and political system continues, there will be a waste of resources, both human and material, continued social inequality and destruction of our environment. Public ownership is essential if profits are to be spent in the much-needed improvement of social services, the elimination of regional disparities, the creation of the jobs and housing Canadians so badly need, rather than for capitalist investment and accumulation. We must, however, distinguish between socialist nationalization and capitalist nationalization. The latter has meant the socialization of the losses of big business, the provision of the necessary infrastructures for capitalist expansion (e.g. utilities, transportation, communications), and the handsome compensation of the former owners so that they may invest in more profitable enterprises, all at the expense of working class taxation. Socialist public ownership must mean instead, the mobilization of the working class to seize control of the means of production that are rightfully theirs, to run them under workers' control, and to offer no compensation to the capitalists, who have for too long benefited from fruits of the labour of the workers. Rather, vigilance will be required against capitalist attempts to stop such a programme from being carried out, plus the means to suppress such subversive reaction.

As the capitalist attack on the working class increases in its severity, the need for public ownership becomes increasingly clear. As long as industry remains in private hands, the speed of work, the use of new technology and critical decisions about plant layoffs and shut downs will be determined in terms of profitability, and not by the men and women whom these decisions affect and who should therefore be making them. It's clear that public ownership is an essential precondition for true industrial democracy, which also has to mean liberation from the authoritarian structures of the workplace (including those of today's so-called 'public corporations').

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Resolution on Housing

A huge section of the inflationary pressure driving down the standard of living of working people is the continuing and deepening housing crisis. In no area of the country is there adequate shelter for the vast majority of working people at even reasonable rents or cost. Rents in Canada are among the highest in the capitalist world.

The housing question has always been a problem in the "free enterprize" system. Solutions to the housing question will inevitably come in conflict with the powerful financial forces that own and control the housing market.

Public ownership of land through various land bank or land assembly schemes does not get at the root of the problem. In the long run such schemes simply supply the housing "producers" with low risk land at the tax payers' expense. Over time the developers would shift the loss from lower land prices to the consumer. Capital gains taxes on developers also do not solve the problem.

The core of the problem lies not just in the jacking up of land prices through speculation by the developers but in the production of housing itself. The Helleyer report describes the housing market as a "boom-bust" cycle. This directly reflects the highs and lows of profitability and therefore the rise and fall of housing production. Housing is built if and when it provides sufficient profits to the developers, where for example in Ontario, a few large powerful corporations like Trizee, Cadillac, Fairview and Meridian increasingly control the market and decide how much, what kind and at what price housing gets built.

The housing question cannot be tackled piecemeal through various schemes at either the provincial level or municipal level. Nothing less than the full mobilization of this countries vast labor, material and technological resources, within the framework of a Canada-wide policy will do the job.

In short, private interests have to be pushed out of housing production so that housing is produced for need and not for profit.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

- 1) To remove the cost of land as a factor determining housing costs, the NDP adopt a policy of expropriation of all speculatively held land.
- 2) The NDP set as its fundamental approach, the removal of housing production from the market, by means of a government run Canada-wide plan for housing production, which would offer publicly built living quarters at low rents under tenant control to working people across Canada.

Gord Doctorow,  
York Mills.

referred

## Resolution on Mass Action Against Rising Food Prices

In the midst of protests and boycott actions against rising food prices, the House of Commons special committee on food prices tabled its interim report on April 2. The report after six weeks of hearings was little more than an apology for the corporate profit gougers. It advises workers to "make a study of good shopping habits" and advocates a "prices review board" which would simply publicize price hikes.

The Retail Council of Canada whose members include almost all the major food chains didn't bat an eyelash. The Council's president C. A. Abbott said the review board "doesn't sound like a tiger with many teeth." Prime Minister Trudeau simply shrugged and said he would study the committee's report.

The NDP caucus voted for the proposals. But the proposals let the food monopolies off the hook. Any prices review board will in all likelihood, like the now defunct Prices and Incomes Commission which attacked the labor movement for causing inflation, serve to whitewash the corporate profit makers.

But there is a need for a prices review board controlled by the workers and farmers and consumers groups. But like any other far reaching measure it will be achieved only by mobilizing the mass of working people in this country against the food monopolies and their henchmen in government.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

- 1) The NDP take the initiative in the formation of mass based "price-watch" committees composed of farmers organizations, unions, consumers groups, housewives and students that will function to monitor and get to the root of the inflationary process caused by the food monopolies.
- 2) That sufficient party resources be assigned to this work so that a mass program of education and action can be implemented to roll back the price hikes.

Hans Vodlich,  
Riverdale



*Carried* LD  
Resolution on Imperialist Alliances and War

Despite illusions of peace fostered by the Vietnam accords the war in Southeast Asia continues. The U.S. remains in Indochina bombing Cambodia and Laos and threatening new aggression against North Vietnam. The complicity of the Canadian government in the war is now being extended to 19 years through participation in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS).

In the space of a few weeks the role of Canadian personnel on the ICCS has been revealed as one of the apologists for the Saigon regime, which, contrary to the ceasefire agreement, is holding over 200,000 political prisoners.

The federal caucus of the NDP, after supporting Canadian military intervention in Vietnam, has now done an about face and calls for the withdrawal of Canadian forces. But this change does not flow from support of the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own affairs free from foreign interference. On the contrary, the federal leadership claims that the situation is unworkable because of violations of the accords by the Vietnamese revolutionaries.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a program consistent with the right of self determination of oppressed peoples around the world contain the following:

- 1) To ensure the right of self determination of the Indochinese people the NDP must renew and campaign for its position of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and war materiel from Southeast Asia; call for the immediate resignation of Canada from the ICCS and the return of Canadian personnel; the immediate release of all political prisoners being held in South Vietnam.
- 2) The Canadian government concretely aids the U.S. war machine through its membership in the U.S. dominated imperialist war alliances NATO and NORAD. The Canadian government is now considering joining the Organization of American States (OAS), the instrument of imperialist domination in Latin America. The NDP must therefore campaign for the immediate withdrawal of Canada from NATO and NORAD and for no support to the Organization of American States.
- 3) The war industry in Canada in addition to the million dollar a day business with the U.S. war machine is a major factor in rising inflation. A consistent antiimperialist policy means nationalization and retooling of the arms industry and all subsidiaries involved in war production under workers' control.

Anna Cushman,  
St. George.

referred

21

Resolution on Taxation and Redistribution of Wealth on an Equitable Basis.

WHEREAS the publication in the past three years of the Real Poverty Report, the Corporate Welfare Bums by David Lewis and many articles in leading journals conclusively proves and reaffirms the regressive nature of the tax structure at all levels (e.g. those on poverty incomes pay approximately 54% of the incomes in taxes while many giant monopolies pay no taxes and receive large subsidies from public funds); and

WHEREAS this situation worsens as taxes on working people increase (e.g. recent 2% sales tax increase in Ontario) while governments at all levels in Canada cut back on social expenditures which are urgently needed by working people.

WHEREAS the proliferation of welfare schemes has not significantly altered the division of wealth in Canada between owners of wealth and working people who produce the wealth; and

WHEREAS only by breaking the iron grip of private ownership and control over the vast wealth producing machinery of society by the privately owned and profit motivated monopolies will the inequitable distribution of wealth in Canadian society be qualitatively altered in the favor of working people.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP stands for:

The abolition of regressive tax systems such as property, sales, import and excise taxes.

The adjustment of incomes taxes to include full exemption up to \$5,000 for individuals and \$10,000 for income earners with families and a 100% tax on all incomes private or corporate over \$50,000.

The creation of a strong public sector of the economy to generate public income and to be planned under the democratic control of working people as the necessary means to break the monopoly hold of private capitalists over society's wealth producing machinery and to begin the process of transforming Canada towards a socialist society.

Specifically to expropriate the banks and financial institutions to assure public control over credit and investment capital and to break the domination of the financial institutions over government through public indebtedness.

Howard Brown,  
St. Andrew-St. Patrick.

*referred* LD  
Resolution on Energy and Resources

WHEREAS control over the development and use of resources and energy supplies are crucial to the planned development of Canada's economy in accordance with the interests and needs of working people; and

WHEREAS at present resource and energy development projects such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, the Churchill River Diversion and the James Bay Power Project valued together at over 20 billion dollars are projected for development or are already being developed at taxpayer expense by giant international monopolies for profit and without regard to human need; and

WHEREAS these same corporations, motivated solely by greed for profits disregard the ecological balance of resource and energy regions and violate the rights and attack the livelihood of the Native and Inuit people; and

WHEREAS the big business political parties use the tax system to subsidize the profits of the corporate giants at the expense of ordinary working people; and

WHEREAS there is already widespread opposition in Canada to the private profit-motivated rip-off of resource and energy supplies.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

- 1) The NDP expropriate resource and energy supplies as a necessary step towards an economy which is socially owned and planned under the democratic control of working people to meet human needs, not the profit drive of monopolies.
- 2) The NDP stands for the right of Native and Inuit people's to participate with veto power in decision making with regard to resource and energy development and use in regions which they presently occupy.
- 3) The NDP supports the preservation of the ecological balance of energy and resource areas and will not continue present projects or begin new ones before ecological implications of such projects are clear to all.
- 4) The NDP will lend full support and will actively assist groups opposing present corporate plans and projects in the field of energy and resource development.
- 5) The NDP will institute an energy and resource access tax on corporations to generate funds for the development and use of resource and energy supplies and to provide energy to working people free or at low cost.

Kim Boyd,  
Hamilton West.



## Resolution on Abortion

Carried

LD

The question of abortion is a burning issue in Canadian politics today.

Despite majority support for abortion being removed from the Criminal Code (61% in the last Gallup poll said they favored abortion being a private matter); despite the efforts of NDP M.P.s Grace McInnis and Stewart Leggatt to introduce private members bills calling for repeal of the abortion laws; despite the precedent-setting U.S. Supreme Court decision that no law can interfere with a woman's right to choose abortion -- Prime Minister Trudeau and other spokesmen for his government have repeatedly stated that they have no intention of repealing the abortion law, or even discussing the question in the House.

The present Canadian abortion laws restrict women's access to abortion, making it not a medical procedure like other operations but rather a criminal act. Only in exceptional circumstances is legal abortion permitted; and then the decision is made, not by the woman involved, but by a hospital committee. No hospital is required to set up a committee under the law, and many do not. Clinics -- often the only medical center in smaller towns -- cannot perform abortions under the present law.

The basis of the decision of who can get an abortion and who is denied is extremely discriminatory. The red tape of committees often lead to humiliating and dangerous delays. Applicants are often rejected arbitrarily because of long waiting lists. This situation has been called "Trudeau's roulette" -- you apply for an abortion and take your chances. The decision is determined on the basis of where you live, what your doctor's attitude to abortion is, the attitude of the hospital committee if it exists, the amount of pull and connections you have.

Because of this situation thousands of women are forced to seek illegal abortions, and countless women are still maimed each year at the hands of butcher abortionists. Others spend hundreds of dollars going to the U.S. and other countries to obtain abortions. Many face no alternative but to continue unwanted pregnancies.

Women in Canada are denied the right to choose whether or not to continue a pregnancy by an archaic abortion law similar to the very ones overturned in the U.S. by the Supreme Court ruling.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, an outspoken advocate of women's right to safe abortion, an active campaigner for repeal of the abortion laws and a prominent NDPer in Montreal, has been charged under these laws on three counts of performing illegal abortions. He is being victimized by the same law which denies women the right to abortion. If convicted, he is liable to imprisonment for life.

So-called "Right to Life" groups across the country are organizing to uphold the restrictive laws and to further limit women's access to abortion. Backed by some of the wealthiest and conservative institutions such as the Catholic Church, they are mobilizing to attempt to defeat the rapidly growing movement to repeal the abortion laws.

The campaign for repeal of the abortion laws has emerged internationally in the forefront of women's struggles against their oppression -- part of the world-wide struggle for women's rights.

In Canada, this campaign is rapidly growing and gaining momentum. A cross Canada conference on abortion, held in Toronto in March 1973, sponsored by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, and attended by women from 84 organizations, has called a cross-country Abortion Tribunal to be held in Ottawa on November 3, 1973. Women, as well as doctors, lawyers, social workers, etc., from across Canada will testify at this tribunal to indict the Trudeau government for maintaining laws which deny women their basic democratic right to control their own bodies.

The federal NDP program calls for repeal of the abortion sections of the Criminal Code. But the NDP has not waged an active campaign for this program to be implemented. In light of the urgency of this question this is a major default of the NDP. The NDP must act now to actively support and participate in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that

- 1) The NDP help to organize a cross-country campaign in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler; organizing meetings to make the facts of the case known, raising funds for the legal defense, and circulating a petition demanding that the charges against him be immediately dropped.
- 2) The NDP endorse the Cross-Country Abortion Tribunal to be held in Ottawa November 3, 1973; and that the NDP aid in ensuring that this action has the maximum impact by publicizing the tribunal, encouraging the gathering and presentation of expert and personal testimony, and by donating funds and other resources.

Rozi Doctorow, York Mills  
Julie Tolentino, St. David  
Marilyn Jones, High Park  
Pam Lineen, St. Andrew -  
St. Patrick.

*Carried*

## Women's Conference Resolution

Throughout Canada women are rejecting the roles they have been traditionally allotted by this society. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada exposed what many women were already beginning to suspect: that this society systematically discriminates against women, relegating them to the status of second class citizens who are pre-destined to lead narrowly defined lives as housewives and mothers or as cheap labor in the market place.

Women are raising demands for liberation; demands like 24-hour child care, repeal of abortion laws, enforcement of equal pay legislation, equal opportunities in education, jobs and promotions, etc. Women are coming together in discussion and action to challenge every aspect of the narrowly prescribed "female role" in Canadian society. More women are becoming involved every day.

Women in the NDP are very much a part of this process. NDP women have led discussions and debates to win the party to programmatic support of women's rights, and are continuing in their efforts to broaden that program and to work to implement it.

The NDP must support women's struggles; it must show that it can act in the interests of the majority of women. And it is women in the NDP who will play the major role in leading the NDP in this work.

In order to carry out this task, it is important that women in the NDP have opportunities to meet, to exchange ideas and experiences, and to plan action. The party must work to create such opportunities.

One principle which has grown out of the developing women's liberation movement in this country is women's right to meet separately to discuss their needs as women, and to plan how to work together to meet these needs. This right applies to women, in the NDP as well; it is important that NDP women meet together to discuss how the NDP can best serve the needs and interests of Canadian women. This does not separate NDP women from the party, but on the contrary enables women to function most effectively within the NDP and to lead the NDP as a fighting party for women's rights.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP call a cross-country women's conference within the next year; that this conference be held in a location which enable the greatest number of women from across the country to participate fully; and that NDP funds and other resources be made available to organize and publicize this conference as widely as possible.

Mary Trew,  
St. Andrew - St. Patrick.

Laurel Fischer,  
Kitchener.



*Carried*

Appeal by BC NDP Women's Rights Committee for a Women's Caucus  
at the Federal Convention

The following letter from the BC NDP Women's Committee has been circulated to NDP women across the country:

"The NDP Women's Committee of B.C. is trying to contact all women in other provinces who are or will be delegates to the Federal Convention to be held in Vancouver this summer.

"We are hoping to organize meetings to lay the groundwork for a Federal Women's Committee, which we feel would greatly assist in raising the status of women in Canada through the concentrated efforts of concerned women in the NDP party. We hope to see a large number of women delegates at this important convention.

"To that end we are organizing a reception centre for women at the convention where delegates can get information about planned meetings, contact other women, and obtain literature pertinent to the women's movement.

"We would like to hear about any resolutions to be put forward about women or dealing with women's rights so that we can anticipate and plan effective debate and unify our aims.

"Billeting is being arranged and we would be happy to hear from any women who could make use of these facilities.

"Could we be informed of any news of women's activities in your area in order to effectively exchange and evaluate our experiences during the convention.

"It is most important that you contact us as soon as possible to let us know whether or not you will be attending. If not, please send along the names of those who you know will be delegates. Time is short!

"We look forward to meeting with you."

(Signed) Barbara Wilson, B.C. Women's Committee Representative.

A most profound radicalization is taking place among women today. Yet the NDP leadership, despite some far reaching planks concerning women's rights in areas of the NDP program, continues merely to pay lip service to, and worse resist the radicalization of women both inside and outside the NDP. This must change at the federal convention. The appeal by the B.C. NDP Women's Committee for women to get together at the federal convention to organize their participation in the convention is necessary to help bring this about.

This appeal has the fullest support of the Left Caucus and will be circulated by caucus supporters throughout the province.

Julie Tolentino,  
St. David.

Amend.  
Carried



## QUEBEC



2D.

Over the past decade Quebec has emerged as the centre of the socialist struggle in North America. Its position as an oppressed nation (ie the lack of basic rights in terms of language, culture and a national state, and the economic domination by American imperialism and Canadian capitalism) has provided the impetus for the struggle for self-determination.

However, the militancy of the Quebec working class in face of the actions of its own advanced capitalist class, as well as its defiance of American and Canadian capitalists, has propelled the class struggle forward in the past two years to the fight for socialism itself; not as an abstract thing for the future, but posed in the immediate sense in the fight for a worker's republic of Quebec. The La Presse demonstration and the Quebec general strike of May 1972, when the workers united in a common front, occupying hospitals, radio stations and even a town, are examples of the advanced nature of the class struggle in Quebec.

When the NDP leadership claims to represent the interests of the Quebecois in their speeches, they betray themselves by their deeds. They refuse to condemn the jailings of the Quebec labour leaders, (except in terms of the harshness of the sentences), they vote to end major strikes, they adapt to the most backward federalist sentiments and they refuse to educate the membership of the party regarding the nature of Quebec and the struggle for socialism and independence. Without the deeds, the words become hollow catchphrases.

1. socialists in English Canada must support all manifestations of the struggle of the Quebec working class and they must be prepared to respond in defense of this struggle.

Therefore be it resolved that:

*Socialist Quebec*

1. The NDP recognizes the right of Quebec to self-determination; ✓
2. The NDP identifies and solidarizes with the struggles of the Quebec workers for a worker's republic of Quebec; ✓
3. The NDP sponsors an educational campaign in riding associations and affiliated locals on the national and social struggles in Quebec; ✓
4. The NDP will mobilize party ranks in defense of Quebec worker's struggles when they occur; ✓
5. The NDP deplores and condemns the actions of the NDP federal caucus in not unequivocally opposing the jailing of the Quebec labour leaders, the smashing of the Quebec general strike, and the injunction against the longshoremen's strike. ✓

LD

Revised

Resolutions on Educational Cutbacks and Youth Unemployment

WHEREAS the Canadian government is undertaking a campaign of massive cutbacks in education such as the post-secondary education budget cutback of 62 million or 11% for 1973-74, which has resulted in fee hikes, escalation of loan ceilings and teacher layoffs; and

WHEREAS the Peitchinis report, commissioned by the Council of Minister of Education in Canada, revealed that corporate taxes account for only 1% of post-secondary education funds; yet instead of recommending more educational funds come from the corporate profiteers, the report called for students who presently pay 15% of their education costs to pay 57% of costs; and

WHEREAS in Ontario, the recently released report of the Commission of Post-secondary Education in Ontario demands increased tuition feed hikes of 100% - 233%; and

WHEREAS the government is carrying out cutbacks in the primary and secondary schools; lowering the quality of education through increased class sizes, the dumping of special projects, the firing of qualified teachers and leaving in Toronto alone 6,000 newly trained teachers unemployed; and

WHEREAS the educational cutbacks are designed to further inflate the profits of big business at the expense of the working people of Canada. They bar the most needy children from the special instruction they require. They block the way to post-secondary education becoming a right for all to attend. They keep trained teachers out of the classrooms.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP stand totally in opposition to any cutbacks in education on any level of government and that the NDP support all anti-cutback activity such as the mass teachers' demonstration of 5,000 in Toronto, May 14, and that the NDP launch a campaign to stop all cutbacks in education, involving both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity, designed to mobilize the whole population in opposition to cutbacks.

The NDP's program must include:

- 1) Post-secondary education is a right for all, not a privilege for a few. End all tuition fees; pay students a living wage.
- 2) That monies needed for the financing of education come from the profits of big business; that there be no additional taxation of the already overburdened working class.
- 3) That teachers on all levels have the right to form unions and the right to strike. That all teachers be hired.



## Resolution on Educational Cutbacks and Youth Unemployment -- 2

### Youth Unemployment

WHEREAS it is the right of every Canadian to have a decent job; and

WHEREAS youth unemployment is increasing and many youth are forced into scab pools in order to work;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that

- 1) The NDP demand that more jobs be created by the government by
  - A. eliminating overtime and shortening the work week, with no reduction in weekly incomes.
  - B. that massive public works projects be created to meet urgent social needs for housing, education, health care, recreational facilities and childcare.
- 2) The NDP demand that unemployed youth have full rights to unemployment insurance at union rates of pay.
- 3) Student graduates be guaranteed jobs in their course of study.

Liz Barclay,  
St. David,  
Ned Danytryshn,  
Parkdale.

Carried

Resolution on Anti-labor Legislation

The use of anti-labor legislation directed against the right of workers to strike and to unionize, by governments across Canada has increased to alarming proportions. It is no accident that this trend, involving compulsory arbitration anti-strike legislation, court injunctions against picketing and so on, is developing at the same time as inflation increases and unemployment rises. Through the provincial governments, Canada's corporate rulers, in response to attempts by working people in all walks of life to defend their standard of living against the drive for increased profits, aim to see how far they can go in eroding and undermining the democratic right to strike, the most fundamental and substantial means of defense that the working people have at their disposal. ✓

Workers in British Columbia are confronted by compulsory arbitration through Bill 33 legislated by the previous Social Credit government. In Alberta, nurses attempting to unionize are now facing anti-strike legislation at the hands of the Tories who recently used an anti-strike injunction to crush a teachers strike. In Ontario, hospital workers similarly face anti-strike legislation at the hands of the Conservatives. The Ontario government recently, for the first time, used compulsory arbitration in a strike in the private sector, ordering elevator construction workers back on the job. Teachers across the province, struggling against cutbacks in education spending are now being threatened with the Tory-backed Reville report, a piece of anti-teacher propaganda directed against the right of teachers to organize, bargain and strike. In Quebec 30,000 workers marched on May 1. A major demand was opposition to the Quebec Liberal government's projected Bill 89 which if adopted this fall would deny thousands of civil servants the right to strike. These and other instances of state action against the rights of workers such as the recent jailing of the Quebec labor leaders (now on conditional release) and a union leader in Newfoundland underscore the urgency of the matter before the NDP. If the rights of workers are to be maintained then the NDP must act.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

- 1) The NDP stands unequivocally against any curbs on the right to strike and any form of compulsory arbitration for any group of workers. ✓
- 2) Where the NDP is in office as in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba it will without hesitation wipe anti-labor legislation off the books. ✓
- 3) Full participation by the NDP in mass action by the labor movement against strike breaking legislation must become a normal practice in a concerted campaign against anti-labor legislation. ✓

## Resolution on Anti-Labor Legislation

-page 2-

*Betrayered (amendment)*

- 4) In the past the NDP federal caucus has ~~done a disservice~~ to working people by supporting parliamentary strike-breaking legislation against the railway and dockworkers. Railway workers are once again in negotiations. The NDP must oppose the use of parliament by the big business parties to undermine the right to strike. ✓

Paul Wyman,  
Kitchener.

Brian Glennie,  
Riverdale



## Resolution on Inflation and Unemployment

In the 12 months ending March 1973, food prices sky rocketed upward 11 percent. The consumer price index had risen 6 percent. With inflation the highest since the Korean war, government economists predict a similar rate in 1973.

The purchasing power of the 1973 Canadian dollar compared to 1949 is 55 cents. At the same time Canada's rate of unemployment is the highest in the industrialized world at well over 6 percent with no substantial reduction in sight.

While big business and their Liberal, Tory, Socred political agents point to the working people and farmers as the source of inflation the so-called "wage-price" spiral is in reality reversed. According to NDP-MP Grace MacInnes, Dominion Stores profits are up 188%; General Foods, 14%; Steinburgs 40% and Canada Packers 45% in 1972. Across the board profits in the food industry were up. Canadian capitalists averaged a 74% increase in profits. Bank profits were up 20%; manufacturing, 109.8%; merchandizing 134.1%.

In the period 1961 to 1971 Canada's food bill increased by \$4 billion. At the same time realized net farm income only increased by \$660 million - 16% of increased food expenditure. In the period 1966-1971 65,000 small farmers were forced to abandon their farms indicating that the bulk of increased farm income went to the giant food monopolies many of whom are integrated from field or feed-market to supermarket shelf.

In a moment of candor, Manpower minister Bryce Mackasey admitted that Canada's jobless are "unemployed through no fault of their own. They are unemployed as a direct result of government action" to fight inflation.

The facts indicate that inflation and unemployment are rooted as a permanent feature of modern capitalist economy. It is intensified by rising international capitalist competition. It stems from the efforts of the corporate elite to assure itself sufficient funds to carry through on its investment projects and to create enough purchasing power in the economy to guarantee a high turnover of goods -- in short the maintenance of capitalist profit through a mushrooming of both public and private debt.

The working people nor their organizations can in any way take responsibility for this system over which they have so say or control. A program to fight inflation and unemployment is bound to be unworkable if it does not start from this premise.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP program to fight unemployment and inflation contain the following points:

- 1) Workers don't create unemployment. The NDP must advocate spreading the available work around through a progressive

reduction of the work week without pay reductions beginning now with the thirty hour week at fourty hours pay.

Workers should not be penalized for being without jobs. Unemployment insurance rates should be raised to union rates of pay. The NDP should back the current CLC drive to organize unorganized office workers and back all such drives to organize the unorganized who are most susceptible to layoffs and price rises.

- 2) Workers do not own and therefore are not responsible for the running of the plants in which they work. If the employers are unable to run the plants and threaten closure they should be nationalized and run under the control of the workers themselves.
- 3) Workers do not cause rising prices. In order for the workers to defend themselves against the prices hikes by the corporations the NDP must back union demands for automatic wage increases pegged to the cost of living as determined by union statisticians.
- 4) There is no mystery to inflation. The corporations are responsible. To make this clear the NDP must fight to force the corporations to open their books to the public and end business secrecy so that the price manipulations can be exposed.
- 5) Government committees on price-hikes are used to cover up the truth about inflation. The NDP must encourage, unions, consumers, housewives and farmers to organize their own price-watch committees to document and expose the real rate of inflation.
- 6) Pools of low waged workers are used by the corporations as a pressure to drive down adequate wages. To tackle this problem the NDP must stand for a minimum wage at union rates of pay so that the downward pressure on wages is removed.
- 7) "Wage-price-controls" or "incomes" policies means wage controls. As the U.S.'s failure to curb inflation has shown, as the employers enthusiastically enforce wage "freezes" prices, which are almost impossible to control under capitalism, continue to rise. All forms of incomes policies or wage controls must be rejected by the NDP even if prices are nominally included in proposed legislation.
- 8) The necessities of life must be produced for need and not for profit. For this reason the powerful food processing and food distribution industry must be nationalized and placed under workers control.

- 9) Military expenditures in particular tend to have an inflationary effect. The 1973 budget forecasts a substantial deficit increasing Canada's "defense" spending to well over \$2 billion. As an anti-inflationary move the NDP must call for the nationalization and retooling of the arms industry under workers control so that the productive capacities of these plants, in the framework of a massive public works program can be used to provide jobs and meet the needs of the working people.
- 10) The NDP should demand the lifting of qualification for UIC benefits and an end to the time limits for benefits.
- 11) A massive step could be taken to reduce the numbers without jobs through a vast Canada wide program of low cost public housing under tenant control.

Charlie Lee,  
St. Catherines.



Carried

## INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION

20

### INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION

The struggle for socialism in Canada is unavoidably an international struggle. The capitalist system itself is organized internationally as an economic system. As well, the various capitalist nation states co-ordinate their strategy for crushing socialist revolution internationally in Vietnam, imperialism deployed troops from the US, New Zealand, Australia and South Korea against the liberation

forces. It used every "objective" international body to build support for its brutal aggression; the UN, OAS, ICC and now the ICCS. Despite its internal rivalries, the world imperialist system uses an international strategy against the working class. To achieve socialism, our strategy must in turn be internationalist.

Last fall's factory occupations in Germany Holland and Belgium that forced the AKZO trust to drop plans for laying off 6,000 workers is an example of the need for such a strategy. These occupations showed the need for the international coordination of workers' struggles and showed that through such coordination, multinational corporations can be defeated.

As capitalism is international, so is the class struggle. In the advanced capitalist countries the struggles- from higher wage demands to occupations- represent one aspect of continuing the fight to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a socialist society. In the colonial and semi-colonial world, where many Nations are fighting direct imperialist control, national liberations struggles are combined with the struggles of workers and poor peasants for socialism. And in the countries where capitalist property relations have been overthrown (Soviet Union, China etc) people are struggling to reassert the political control of the working class against the bureaucracies. We must extend our solidarity to all these struggles.

Therefore be it resolved that:

1. To support the victory of the Indochinese peoples' struggle for socialism and self-determination, the NDP renew and campaign for its position of immediate withdrawal of all US forces and war material from Southeast Asia; call for the immediate resignation of Canada from the ICCS and the return of Canadian personnel; the immediate release of all political prisoners being held in South Vietnam.
2. That the NDP oppose all intervention by capitalist countries in the affairs of other countries, whether this is by direct intervention (Canadian and American troops in Vietnam) or indirectly through bodies like the UN or the ICCS. These interventions always serve to prop up the reactionary regimes socialist revolutionaries are attempting to overthrow.
3. Oppose all imperialist alliances and demands the NDP reaffirm its policy of withdrawal of Canada from NATO, NORAD OAS & ICCS
4. Oppose military sales to imperialist governments and demand an end to the defence production sharing agreements between Canada and the U.S.
- 4.
5. Demand the release of all political prisoners held by